A discourse vpon the present estate of France.

Together with a copie of the kings letters patents, declaring his mind after his departure out of Paris.

Whereunto is added the copie of two letters written by the Duke of Guize.

Translated out of French into English: And now newly reprinted, and corrected by E. Aggas.

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A Diſcourſe vpon the preſent eſtate of France.

MOſt men doo ſay, that it is a pleaſure to behold from the ſhore, the waues to ſwell, and to marke from the land howe the ſtorme and the windes play with the Sea. I beleeue it well: and it is as much to ſay, as that it is better to ſee a daunger a farre off, then to be in it. But if from the toppe of a Cliffe I ſhould perceiue a ſhippe wherein either I had a ſhare, or my friends were encloſed, in daunger of being caſt away, and without helpe, caried againſt the rocks by the currants and tempeſt; what a griefe were it vnto me, to finde my ſelfe at ſuch a ſpectacle. If *France* were nothing vnto me, and I knew her ſtate as exactly as I doo, it were no matter vnto me to diſcourſe of it: when men ſhoulde bring me the newes, I would take them indifferently: yea I ſhould receiue them without any paſsion, being otherwiſe glad to be out of her broiles, and heare talke of her ſtirrings with as little commotion and feare, as if one ſhould rehearſe vnto me things that happened at *Rome* vnder *Tiberius* or *Nero*. I can not being a Frenchman: no I cannot ſo do, ſeeing the onely barke of my hope, the veſſel wherein I haue all that which is deareſt vnto me, and which of it ſelfe is dearer vnto me than my ſelfe, now ſee runne to wreake my countrie, my firſt mother, whom ſuch ſundrie diſeaſes haue brought to extremity, hardly panting out her laſt gaſpe. But there is no remedie: yet ſome parte of the griefe paſſeth away with crying: and ſuch wordes as ſorrow wreſteth out of our hearts, are more violent then thoſe which ioy bringeth forth. If at anie time in our affliction wee ſigh out ſome extraordinarie ſpeeches, witneſſes of our griefe, they are more liſtened vnto, then if they came from a careleſſe minde, quailed with continuall contentations: which alſo bringeth forth no other then vulgar matter. Theſe accordingly ſhall deſerue commendati-

on of their matter onely, and not for any order or methode. Others doo seruice vnto their countrey with their bodies & goods. They doo well, seeing they bee able: as for me, I can but lament mine owne, I bestow onely my teares on her, hauing nothing else left that might stande her in any steede: I commend those men, let them not blame mee: I will doo as they doo when I shalbe able: and they as I do, when they are brought to this passe.

My *Dieus*, lying idle in the countrie whether other businesses had lead mee, I heard the first reporte of the kinges driuing out of *Paris* by the Duke of *Guize*. As all matters are made greater, according as men esteeme of them, so was there this first report. Euerie one doth bring foorth his passions in steed of comments, vpon such newes as are told him. I know not whether being infected with this common vice, I did presently glose vppon this reporte: well doo I remember, that euen then I answered vnto some that were speaking to me of it, that I could scarse beleeue that the matter was fallen out so rawly, although I did esteeme the one capable enough of such a feare, yet woulde I neuer haue thought altogither such presumption to haue remained in the other. At that time or soone after, there were two sundry peeces of worke brought vnto mee: the one is a declaration of the King, vpon that which happened against himselfe at *Paris*, the 12. of *May*: but that so colde, so timorous as nothing more; much like vnto a man that complaineth, and yet dare not name him of whome hee hath beene beaten: like vnto a man that is afraid least that his enemy bee yet in his choller, and will not be content with that harme which he hath done him alreadie. Hee dare not say that hee hath beene constrained to flie, neither that he hath been driuen out: he dareth not terme it an iniurie, much lesse declare, that hee will punish it. Hee commandeth no more his people, but intreateth them. And to make vp the matter, (which is the most shamefullest of all) hee willeth praiers to bee made in the Churches, to the ende that this quarrell may bee appeased, euen as if hee should feare that Monsieur *de Guize* were offended that he had not suffered himselfe to haue been taken in the Louure, but fled away. The other cleane contrarie,

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were two letters of the Duke of *Guize*, the one vnto the King, the other publike, both letters of a ſouldiour, braue ones, couragious, whereby he gallantly commends himſelfe of his dooing: ſaith that God did put that daie into his hands the meanes of a notable peece of ſeruice, rehearſes it with few and ſtout wordes, without anie ſhew of feare, neither thinking to haue done amiſſe. Laſt of all, hee concludeth with a reſolute threatning, that in ſpight of all the world, he will maintaine the Catholikes ſide, and driue from the king ſuch as doo fauour the Heretikes, meaning the Duke of *Eſpernon*. My *Dicaus*, this hath mooued mee to ſend them vnto you, you are curious of ſuch matters: and euen withall, the verie indignation hath drawen from me this diſcourſe of the ſtate of *France*, ſuch as it is now a daies, whereby you may iudge the better of theſe two writinges. Publiſh it, if you thinke it good, ſo that you keepe in your name and mine, for wee are called to other affaires. If not, keepe it in your ſtudie.

France is diuided into three factions. The Duke of *Guize* and his kinſmen on the one ſide: as the dukes of *Maine*, of *Aumall*, of *Elbeuf*, of *Mercœur*, his brethren or couſins germaine, to my iudgement holde that which ſeemeth the greateſt, and that is it, which with their partakers, they call the holie League. The king holds the ſecond, the moſt lawfull, but the weakeſt. The king of *Nauarre* and ſome Catholike Princes of the bloud, My Lordes of *Mountmorency*, chiefe Officer of the Crowne, of *Turraine*, of *Chaſtillon*, and many other noble men, as well of the religion as Catholikes: the third, which may be termed the iuſteſt in deede, and as yet the ſureſt. I call the firſt, the greateſt: be it, becauſe there is likelihood that it is deriued, and as it were a member of the generall conſpiracie of all the Catholike Princes of Chriſtendome, vnited and confederat together vnder the authoritie of the Pope, to make warre againſt thoſe which make profeſſion of the religion: be it, becauſe this band is newe, and rare nouelties doo for a while carrie away all: an argument whereof wee may gather in the ſhew that the Proteſtantes during the firſt troubles made in this Realme, where they had ſeiſed vppon all the good townes ſauing one or

two onelie, and yet within the ſpace of one yeare they had neuer a one left: or finally, for that it was framed among the Catholikes, who doo in number farre exceede the Proteſtants, and who, albeit they be not wholly in all and through al of the League, do yet notwithſtanding agree in this point, that they with the preſeruation of their religion, & ſo ſeeme to fauour thoſe that vndertake the defence thereof: all which in deede do make this firſt faction to ſeeme the greateſt at this time, albeit that in troth it neither is, neither can ſo continue. I ſaide that the kinges was the lawfuleſt, No man dare denie it: So long as according to his owne will he ruled his people, he onely was obeyed, and ſo might ſtill be if he liſt: but this liſt muſt come vpon him betimes, for if it lingereth but a little longer, and that euerie man perceiue that in his dominions any man may lawfullie not onely diſobey him, but euen coope with him without danger, he ſhall neuer recouer his authoritie: God hath planted the meanes in his onely courage. I ſaid likewiſe that his faction was the weakeſt. It is true: albeit it ſeemeth otherwiſe, yet it is ſo, as by ſundrie reaſons we may prooue. Firſt, the king who ruleth, hath ſo behaued himſelfe that euerie man knoweth that of the three heads of the three factions, he is the weakeſt, he ſtandeth in greateſt feare, hee dareth enterpriſe leaſt: and contrariwiſe, that he is the man againſt whome euerie man dare moſt ſafely and eaſely vndertake what they liſt. He I ſay hath taken ſuch a courſe that now he hath nothing left wherewith to detaine the mindes of his ſubiects in his obedience, ſauing onely the auncient regarde that they haue of their kings, together with the cuſtome of the realme: which in truth are moſt mightie meanes in a peaceable eſtate, and yet ſuch a ciuill warre of foure yeares continuance onely, is able as eaſely to ſubuert it, as heretofore it hath don in ſhorter ſpace at *Rome* and all other places where it hath lighted: for it ſpringeth onely of a contempt and diſdaine of the Prince, which are contrarie both to duetie and maieſtie. And then iudge you what one of thirtie yeares continuance, as ours is, may be able to doo. Secondlie, he is in his Realme the declining ſunne, and ſo weake in his declination, that euen in his preſence he ſeeth them diſpute, both by writings

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and weapons, of him that ſhall riſe after him. In the dayes of the Romaine *Caſars*, it was treaſon to ſpeake of that, that ſhould happen after the Emperours death: much leſſe durſt they name him that they thought ſhould ſucceede. *Tiberius* were able to ſay ſomewhat hereof, who after a certaine ſowne that he fell into, in his olde age lying ſicke in his bed was ſtifled by his heire *Caligula*, a young & floriſhing Prince, for feare leaſt the old man cõming againe to himſelfe ſhould put him to death, only for that he was ſaluted as Emperour, when all men tooke the other to be deceaſed. So great was their power to keepe their autoritie inuiolable euen to their graues. The *Ottomans* or *Turkiſh* Emperours will neuer ſuffer their children, whoſe poſsibilities they can not endure, to come neere them. But if we muſt needes finde a domeſticall example among our owne kings: It is ſaid, that the mightie king *Francis*, this mans grandfather, being weake & ſicklie, was in the beginning of *May* in his laſt yeare, at his Caſtle of *Fontainebleau*, where his ſickneſs on a time ſo encreaſed, that he was thought to bee dead, or not like long to liue: Sodainely all the Court came running to the *Dolphin Henrie*, who for the like gelouſie of ſucceſſion durſt not in ſixe or ſeuen yeares come neere his father: euery one ranne to worſhip this new ſonne, ſo as almoſt no man of account tarried about the king. Well, the king for that time recouered, and vpon the Aſcention day (a verie ſolemne feſtiuall daie in *France*) beeing ſomewhat eaſed of his ſickneſſe, this olde Prince ariſeth, decketh vp himſelfe cõmeth out of his chamber, painteth his haire & his face, to hide his age & ſickneſſe, appeareth himſelfe in youthfull attire, and in this arraie cõmeth forth to proceſſion, wherein himſelfe carrieth the Cãnopie ouer their *Corpus Domini*, and at his returne vſeth theſe ſpeeches, *I will ſcarre them once yet ere I die*. It prooued true, the caſe was altered: for ſo ſoone as the kings recouerie was bruted abroade, all the courtiers came dropping in by one, and by one in great feare, and the *Dolphin* yet once againe, while his turne came, remained as ſolitarie as his father had done. This it was to be a king: yea, this it was to be feared. How manie landes be there yet in the worlde, wherein it is death to enquire who may pretend anie title to the Crowne

after the Princes deceaſe, ſith that is the thing that Princes doo couet to leaue moſt doubtfull. Alas! It is not ſo with our king: his weakeneſſe hath giuen all the world leaue not onely in his preſence to argue of his ſucceſſion, but alſo to ſome to endeuour to force him to prouide for it and to make his will, as if there were no more for him to doo but euen to die. His faint heart and the libertie to offende, haue brought all to that paſſe, that at this day a Frenchman may as bouldlie as a Spaniard ſay, *I am not on the kings ſide:* whereas thirtie yeare agoe, ſuch a word had beene blaſphemie, yea euen parricide. Finally, his want of courage is ſo diſhonorable, that my ſelfe being in a forraine lande in the preſence of a mightie Prince confederate with the Crowne of *France*, where there was ſome ſpeech of our eſtate, did heare one diſcourſing thereof, vſe theſe words. *That our King ſtoode but as an o in Ciphre*, which of it ſelfe can doo nothing, but being added to anie other number, encreaſeth the value thereof. I heard it, and with great griefe bluſhed thereat, euen for the ſhame of our Nation, albeit the diuiſions of our Realme which force vs to extraordinarie remedies had carried me thither for an other purpoſe then the particular ſeruice thereof, neither was that ſpeech any hinderance to the matter that I came about. Thirdly, he cannot aſſure him ſelfe of any of thoſe whom he thinketh to be on his ſide: for they are daunted, becauſe they ſee him quailed: They dare not fixe themſelues about him, becauſe they ſee him totter. They dare not earneſtly oppoſe them ſelues againſt thoſe that warre againſt him, becauſe they ſee him ſuffer it, and yet ſcarſe ſo bolde as to complaine. In this ſort are all his Counſaile, all his townes, and all his ſubiectes growne into factions: And I do verelie beleeue that among all thoſe that are about his perſon, hee perceiueth none, except ſome one or two that are his owne creatures, that hee dare aſſuredlie truſt: as hauing ſome other particular meaning then he, or taking part with ſome one or other of his enemies. For ſo ſoone as a king ſeemeth to feare any one within his Realme, or to miſtruſt that an other may bee greater than himſelfe, his Maieſtie is gone, he is no bodie, euery man hath recourſe to the other. Albeit we can not be free, yet will we haue but

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one maſter: and if that maſter hath another maſter aboue him, wee ſtraight leaue the firſt to runne to the laſt: ſuch is the nature of man.

As for the king of *Nauarres* ſide, the beginning of theſe warres do proue it to be the iuſteſt: he defendeth himſelfe, to defend it both lawfull and naturall, yea hee ſo defendeth himſelfe, as forgetting all occaſions of complaint, he alwaies made conſcience to moleſt the king (albeit in the middeſt of the wars) whom he ſee otherwiſe buſied againſt thoſe of the league, notwithſtanding he knew certainly that all thoſe iars among them woud light vpon himſelfe. Neither hath hee ſo reſted, but ſo oft as he might, hee hath offered him both his perſon and goods for the recouerie of his authoritie out of the others hands, with condition afterward to ſubmit himſelfe to whatſoeuer forme of peace that his maieſtie woulde preſcribe: he hath offered it, yea euen ſince the laſt commotions, notwithſtanding in all this warre he hath had a thouſand & a thouſand occaſions to prooue that he is not to truſt any but God and his ſword. I haue alſo very great reaſons to tearme this as yet the ſureſt. Firſt his perſon is a great helpe: for his enimies haue done him that fauour to teach him to bee a Captaine. And ſurely ſo hee is, yea ſuch a one as may compare with the mightieſt that euer was, and albeit it hath coſt him ſomewhat, yet hath his apprentiſhippe coſt them more: his partakers are more ſtedfaſt, they regard none but him, and are retained by the dutie of conſcience, which hath vnited them togither, either for religion, or becauſe they find themſelues entred into a iuſt cauſe: hauing had a better proofe of his partakers, hee cannot feare any greater brunts then he hath already borne, neither can his enimies practiſe any nouelties againſt him: And if this thirde ſide had courageouſly aſſailed the other two, as they both haue done it, they had bin better ſhaken then this is. Moreouer he hath atchieued right of naturall ſucceſsion to this realme, which no particular perſon doth any way challeng againſt him: ſo that albeit all *France* were agreed to take from him the crowne when it ſhould fal, yet could ther be none that ought to haue it in his ſtead: for it is a great aduantage to haue no certaine aduerſarie. Theſe vndoubted hopes do purchaſe him manie

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ſeruants, and retaine him manie more, where in the meane time many mens mindes, who are loath to ſee the alteration of the auncient forme of their common wealth: being aſſured that it cannot bee compaſſed without violence, are glad to reſt vppon him, who comming in by the ordinarie gate needeth not to make any breach.

This is at this day the order that is in the diſorders of the Realme of *France*. Theſe are the principall factions alreadie ordered and framed. Others there be that haue no ſet faction, but ſo farre as may ſtande with the commoditie of their affaires, leaning to one of the three, they come in a croſſe, hauing ſeuerall purpoſes agreeing with the others, as concerning the beginnings, though to other endes. Of theſe there are the Q. Mother, the K of *Spaine*, the dukes of *Lorraine* and *Sauoy*. Theſe doo very well agree in ſetting forward the diuiſions of the Realme, to the end to diſpoſſeſſe the King of *Nauarre*, with the Princes of the blood, but not in the patition. No. Each one coueteth the whole or at the leaſt the greateſt part. Other Catholike Princes there bee of the houſe of *Bourbon* that remaine with the king & in deed take his parte, as being vnited in religion, which is the onely ſeparation of the king of *Nauarre*, yet will neuer proceed ſo farre, as to conſent to the aduauncing of the houſe of *Lorraine* or *Guize*, before their owne: and in that caſe will rather ſupport their elder, the king of *Nauarre*, as the head of their houſe. Theſe beare great ſway in *France*: For were the K. of *Nauarre* away, the ſucceſsion of the Crowne ſhould light vppon ſome one of them: which is alſo a great hinderance to the D. of *Guizes* purpoſes.

Beſides all theſe confuſed and yet ſeuerall diuiſions, wherto our miſhaps do ſeeme (as I haue ſaid) to haue already giuen ſome ſhape and rule, euerie of theſe partakers hath his particular intent and proceedings.

The Duke of *Guize* with thoſe which truely acknowledge none of the league in *France* but him, haue this intent and principall ſcope, to ſeiſe vpon the eſtate, either wholly or in part: a councell which by inheritance his vncle the late Cardinal of *Lorraine* hath engrafted in their familie. This Prince, the ſole author of our broiles, had a father and an vncle both

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cunning fellowes. When our diuiſions firſt beganne in the daies of the laſt king *Charles* betweene the Catholikes, and Proteſtants, and that they perceiued that the Prince of *Conde* then liuing embraced the other partie, themſelues hauing bene the ſtirrers vp of the troubles, ſet themſelues on the other: and indeed the late Duke of *Guize* was already become captaine of his faction, hatching in his imagination, through his brother the Cardinals practiſes, a ſecret intent to vſurpe this crowne, either for himſelfe or his poſteritie, whereas in reſpect of the K. and his brothers minoritie, but eſpeciallie by the ciuill warres he ſee the way open. He deceaſed leauing this in maner a child vnder tuition of the Cardinall his brother: from whom, euen with his Milke he ſucked the ſeedes of his domeſticall ambition, which this yoong Eagles birde did ſo well diſgeſt, that in ſhort ſpace all men might perceiue that the leaſt part in him was greater then his fathers loines. To ſay the truth, there are manie good partes bred in him, fit for great purpoſes, and for my part I alwaies tooke this mans birth to be fatall, and as it were a certaine token that God purpoſed the alteration of ſomewhat in our countrie. He onelie is the whole league: the reſt of his houſe are not equall with him: yea, they all togither are not able to performe the leaſt part of that which hee enterpriſeth. Full of diſsimulation, verie warie and diſcreete, and greater then al the reſt of his faction. This dooth all the world perceiue by the effectes. I haue founde it in his writings, and vnder his owne hand in a matter of great importance: where had it not beene for him, one of the greateſt of his partakers, next him ſelfe had like to haue committed a groſſe ouerſight. This is his intent and purpoſe. Now let vs ſee his proceedings, and how hee behaueth himſelfe. His miſchiefe was this, that entring into a world of affaires, there yet remained manie children in *France*, and thoſe in a manner of his owne age, who all were capable of ſucceſsion each after other, of mariage, and of children, which might haue beene enough to haue daunted him: howbeit all this notwithſtanding, beginning to feele his owne courage he was nothing aſtoniſhed: but for a time diſguiſing his drifts, he was content onelie to lay anker hold, and in the meane time to inſinuate himſelfe

into the Catholike faction, according to the inſtructions of his familie, wherein fortune was his friend: beſides, he is of great valour, & ſome of his enterpriſes haue good ſucceſſe, ſo that togither with the fame and memorie of his father, he by & by framed himſelfe, through the ciuill warres which his vncle the Cardinal ſtill kindled, by one meanes or other, to bee chiefe of the Catholike faction, carrying fauour to thoſe townes eſpeciallie, which the maſſacres had continued verie ſeditious and troubleſome: and he ſtood ſtil in feare of a Proteſtant Prince, whoſe citizens hee entreated with great familiaritie, courteſie, and popular behauiors, (the chiefeſt and moſt aſſured tokens of a mind that aſpireth to tirannie). The late king *Charles* deceaſed without iſſue, and this king married, but hath no children: moreouer, he ſeemeth that the Crowne wanteth heires in direct line, and that the Collaterals are called, whereupon he draweth neere, and already ſheweth tokens that hee craueth a part. It was giuen out in hugger mugger that he is the very ſtocke of *Charles* the great, thoſe of *Valois* are of the houſe of *Capet*, who vſurped the Crowne of *France* from his houſe, whereby there was ſome likelihood that he would ſcarce tarrie the death of the king now raigning, and his brother, the remnants of the children of *France*, before he pleaded his ſucceſsion againſt the Collaterals, but would euen preuent them.

Nowe was there nothing more againſt him then peace, for leaning onelie vppon the factious Catholikes, and ſeditious townes faction: he ſhould therby loſe his credit, except the controuerſie were renewed againſt the Proteſtants. For as it is a plaine caſe, that as ciuill warre nouriſheth diuers factions in a ſtate, euen as certaine it is that a long peace ouerthroweth them all, except the kings: ſo as his onely remedie conſiſted in ſtirring vp of coales, and returning vs vnto our ciuill weapons, and then to enterpriſe according as occaſion might ſerue. And in deede in the yeare 1578. hee made ſuch a league as this laſt, but then was the king in his full authoritie, and *Monſieur* his brother aliue, who retained a number of french mindes, and ſo conſequently kept him ſhort of a manie: It was ſtraightwaie quenched, and wee rid of it for a little warre againſt the *Huguenots*, which ſoone after

after was appeaſed. Thus was *Fraunce* quiet for two or three yeares: during the which, it was incredible how many matters his troubleſome, ambitious, & cõſequently, couragious ſtomack endured, ſuffering himſelfe to be pulled downe, and eate and dronke in diuers maners, ſo to eſchew all ſuſpition of this practiſe, which during the time of the peace, and the kings ablolute authoritie, he ſo cunninglie diſſembled, that many which knew not the laſt reaſons of this obſtinate patience, the token of a long and prophane practiſe, did euen contemne him. In the ende *Monſieur* the kinges brother, who was a great blocke in his waie, died. He bare him ſome diſpleaſure vppon other occaſions: for as he practiſed ſomewhat about the ſtate of *Flanders*, ſo this man hauing priuate intelligence with the king of *Spaine*, plaied him ſome badde partes thereabout: ſo that if he had liued (I haue heard ſome ſaie) that he would haue beene on the duke of *Guiz*es iacke: in whoſe time at the leaſt, it had beene hard for him to haue enterpriſed anie thing in *France*. This death, whether it were by chance or through any practiſe, came well on his ſide: I ſaie through any practiſe, becauſe the araigments & depoſitions of the lord of *Salcede* haue kept many in doubt of ſuch a matter. Immediatly vpon *Monſieurs* buriall, when there was none but the king left, hee thought that hee had gotten fit occaſion to atchieue the practiſe which his father and vncle began thirtie yeares agoe, which him ſelfe alſo with ſo great labour had nowe brought to this paſſe. Some were of opinion that about the ſame time hee had practiſed ſomewhat againſt the kings life: others that hee grounded him ſelfe only vpon ſome vaine hope and proteſtations ſent him out of all quarters, which aſſured him of the kings ſpeedie death: But howſoeuer it was, he did not thinke it conuenient, the ſtate ſhould be quiet at the Princes deceaſe, as knowing verie well that in *France* a king neuer dieth, becauſe that ſo ſoone as one is gone, there is an other ſtraightway in his place, who at his entrie would ouerthrow whatſoeuer the purpoſes that any man could commence againſt him: and therefore that it was requiſite he ſhould beare weapons againſt the heire euen before the kings death, and ſo be armed with the late kinges name and authoritie. According

therefore vnto theſe fatherly preceptes: and with his owne domeſticall meanes he began to trouble this Realme againe in the yeare 1585. beginning firſt with the king: whom becauſe he could not by any perſuaſions induce to make warre vpon the king of *Nauarre*, he thought to cõſtraine by force. His pretences are, that the king hath no children, ſo as the Crowne is like to fall vnto Heretiques, whereby hee and all other the Catholikes of *France* are put in a fright, eſpecially ſeeing the Proteſtant Captaines (ſo noting the king of *Nauarre*) are in fauour and haue their ſecrete intelligences with the chiefeſt and thoſe that are neereſt about the kings perſon. This hee ſpake of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who was lately returned out of *Guienne* where he had ſeene the king of *Nauarre*. Finally, verie fitlie vſing the feare that he had put the king in: corrupting all his Councell, and al that were about his perſon, hee cauſeth warre to be denounced to the king of *Nauarre* and the Proteſtantes, which laſteth yet to this day: through the whole courſe whereof I imagine that he ſeeketh no more but ſome occaſion once to attempt, (as his fact at *Paris* well teſtifieth:) for as he weeneth, he needeth no more but that. Well, the warres being thus open againſt the king of *Nauarre* euen by the kinges aduiſe, conſent, and authoritie, yet will it not ſuffice. Theſe are daylie labours. This Prince is ſtout: of great valour, he hath goods plentie, and manie friendes. There is nowe nothing to be gotten of him but ſtripes. As for his perſon it is ſafe enough, if they neither murder, nor poiſon him, as God forbid they ſhould. And for his townes, twelue Realmes of *France* will neuer be able to take them all. Yea, had he loſt all but his ſword, when ſoeuer God ſhould call him to this Realme, yet were that enough. How many kinges haue there beene fecht both out of priſons and Monaſteries to their facring. In our dayes wee haue ſeene *Charles* the ſeuenth, who was baniſhed into the Mountaines of Auuergne, crowned. *Lewes* the twelfth was yet in manner priſoner in the great tower of *Bourges* when he was proclaimed king: neither is it credible by anie humaine apparance that the king of *Nauarre* ſhould euer bee brought ſo lowe: and yet will not all this ſuffice. A lawfull right in ſucceſſion is a marueilous point. Theſe

considerations doo breake the Dukes ambitious braine. He seeth that he must not onely make the place for the Crowne voide, but also he must make himselfe capable both to enter and vsurpe. The one consisteth chiefely in the king of *Nauarres* subuersion, the other in the encrease of his owne wealth and credit, which will grow on but slenderly, so long as he is content with gouerning the armies vnder the kings authoritie, and of himselfe to warre against the Protestants. A thousand other things there are that may fall out in such an enterprise, which would vtterly disgrace all his affaires: and as I haue saide, there is not much to bee wonne from those that knowe howe to defende themselues. Againe he mistrusted, that sith he had perforce brought the king into this warre, he would neuer furnish him of thinges necessarie for the performance thereof, but against his will, and yet that so long as himselfe had the leading of the armies (if he compassed not such effectes as might be woorthie the great hope and brags that he had giuen foorth) he were quite ouerthrowen. These things cõsidered, he was content to send his brother into *Guyenne* against the king of *Nauarre*, while himselfe did here set vpon the kings person: at whose hande he first hoped by sinister meanes to gaine more, & with lesse losse. Hereupon at his brother the Duke of *Maines* returne out of *Guienne*, where he had done nothing but encreased the credit of the king of *Nauar* & his lieutenant generall the lord of *Turraine*, with whom he had chiefly had to do, they both togither with their kinsmen and partakers doe openly set at iarre with the king: albeit still vnder their generall pretence, viz. of warring against the heretikes: whereupon the holines of their weapons did depende, and whereby they still retayned the catholike faction on their side. Nowe at the first blush, to set vpon the king it is a shame: they can haue no colour. There is neuer a prince of the bloud among them, neither is any of them so great an officer of the crowne, as that it may beseeme him to reforme the king & the realme: and yet without this, their generall pretence against him is to no purpose. The king is no catholike, he is superstitious: he hateth not the Huguonets: the Huguonets are poyson vnto him, he thinketh it a sinne to talke with any of them,

and that day that he hath ſo done he muſt goe to ſhrift: hee hath brought more of them to their ends then the Duke of *Guize* hath ſeene: he hath done them more harme than the duke of *Guize* wiſheth them, & of him haue they more cauſe to complaine than of any of the league, the heads whereof haue alwayes ſhewed more fauor and courteſie to them particularly than he, a commendation which cannot be denied them. What is the remedy then? Immediatly vpon the duke of *Maines* returne out of *Guienne* he publiſheth a libell againſt the Marſhall of *Matignon* the kinges lieutenant in that prouince, whom the king had ioyned with him in office: wherin he accuſeth him of treaſon and intelligence with the king of *Nauarre* & the proteſtãts: & that (ſaith he) was the cauſe that in all that iorney he could performe no great matter: yea he accuſeth him ſo couertly that he alſo taxeth the king, of whõ he complaineth, ſaying that he cut him ſhort of coyne, victuals and munition, and ſo taketh from him all meanes to atchiue anie thing: yea he proceedeth ſo far, as to ſay that he is the beſt friend that the heretikes could haue. Hereupõ the duke of *Guize* on the other ſide crieth out, that it is the D. of *Eſpernon*, who for malice toward him fauoreth his enimie the king of *Nauar*, and therefore reſtraineth the king & maketh him to haue no care of this warre: thus for that he dareth not beat the maſter he ſtriketh the dog. That man, ſaith he, is the ſupport of al the heretiks in *France*, & ſo he ſtirreth vp all the world againſt him: and preſumptuouſlie he proteſteth that he will not ſuffer him to haue any part, towne or gouernement in *France*. Yea albeit the kings garde be free of all ſuſpition of hereſie, yet becauſe that lord had the rule of them, he cauſeth thẽ twiſe or thriſe to be aſſaulted & ouerthrowen in *Picardie*: and vpon this pretence doth he as well in that gouernement as elſe where ſeiſe vpon as many townes as he may. Well, the king would peruert him, and retaine his townes in obedience, & to that end doth vſe ſuch power as he hath about him. which are (as I ſaid) his gards & thoſe regiments wherof the duke of *Eſpernon* is coronell. Hereupon is the quarrell proclaimed againſt the king himſelf, & things brought to ſuch paſſe that the duke of *Aumale* beſiegeth *Bulloin*, the duke of *Guize* taketh *Paris*, expelleth the king, ſlaieth,

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taketh and ſtrippeth his guards, as himſelfe boaſteth. By his account euerie one that hath any townes or gouernements which he will not hold to his vſe, is an heretike: whoſoeuer endeuoureth to keep him from the kingdome is an heretike: Theſe be new articles of faith. It is ſaid that the D. of *Eſpernon* hath ſince reſigned his gouernements into the kings hands: namely that of *Normandy*, which was giuen to the D. of *Mompenſier*, I know not whether it may make him an heretike alſo: which were ſomwhat ſtrange. Wel, to conclude this matter: the D. of *Guizes* intent is to be king if he can, his proceedings and meanes are the ciuill wars and diuiſion of the french catholikes againſt the proteſtants, whereby he becommeth captaine of the firſt, with whome hee is in greater credite then the king himſelfe, or any catholike Prince of the blood. Herein let them not miſtake; for of theſe two things by his deuiſes hee hopeth for one: either ſo to ſatisfie himſelfe during the kings life, and ſo to ſettle his affaires that after his deceaſe he may ouerthrow the king of *Nauar* & keep him from the eſtate: or elſe, if he cannot keepe him from it, at the leaſt to force him to parley with him, who wil ſtil be protector of the catholike faction, & that now without example: for it hee once ouerthrow him, and with him the reſt of his houſe, this muſt needs enſue (for the one dependeth vpō the other) that either he will poſſeſſe the kingdome alone, or elſe he will deuide it with his partakers, ſtil keeping the greateſt and beſt part to himſelfe. To this banquet doth he inuite the king of *Spaine*, the Pope, the Potentates of *Italy*, and al catholike princes near hand, to whom the mightines of the realm is as preiudicial, the kings proſperity and the king of *Nauars* hope is as greatly to be feared, as the ouerthrow of either of them is to them profitable. But the verie worſt that I ſee in this practiſe is, that hee can in no ſort beare with the kings long life, whereof he had need to take heed: & I beleeue that if hee had ſtayed but a while longer in *Paris*, the matter had beene diſpatched. But how ſoeuer it is, I ſuppoſe that that is the thing which at this time dooth moſt trouble the one and ſcarre the other.

He that ſhall now call to mind that he that is now king of *France* is the ſame perſon that wan the battails when he was

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but ſeuenteene or eighteene yeares old, who neuer came in place but hee had the victorie, whoſe valor and reputation euen in the ſpring of his youth purchaſed him forraine Crownes, yea crownes ouer the moſt warlike nation that wee knowe in the worlde, cannot but hee muſt acknowledge that the onelie ſlackneſſe and miſtruſt of his owne power, which through the impreſsion of others haue ſeiſed vpon this ſometimes ſo valiant a heart, is the whip wherwith God at this day ſcourgeth our realme. Of this Prince wee muſt needs ſay, that had hee beene borne in a good worlde: had hee had ſeruants worthie himſelfe, which had loued his mightineſſe: had they not euen in his nonage cauſed him to take the affaires in hand with paine, and pleaſures with eaſe, which maketh him now to hate the one and loue the other: had no man ſince ceaſed his gouernement, and moleſted his minde, God had vndoubtedly indewed him with great good partes, whereby he might haue compaſſed great matters: but his mothers paſsions, who ſought to aduãce him, to the end he might ſtand her in ſtead, with her other ſonne, thruſt him forth to labour when he ſhould haue giuen himſelfe to pleaſure: glutted him with honour before he had any ſtomacke to euill, and brought him out of taſt with ambition before he had any minde of it. Beſides al this, if a man may lawfully note any imperfection in him, this is it, that he hath beene ſomewhat giuen to loue his eaſe and reſt, which is a common vice, not in Princes onely, but alſo in moſt men. In fine, comming to the crowne, he found the realme full of licentiouſneſſe, which the long ciuil wars had brought in: and repleniſhed with factions and diſobedience; he found all his greateſt lords infected with ſeuerall purpoſes, in lieu of one generall minde that they ought to haue beene off for his ſeruice: and hereto was his owne patience a great furtherance, as hauing this imperfection, that hee found no reſiſtance, if he were not croſſed, or if he liued in peace, hee would deale abſolutely & with great maieſty: but if he met with neuer ſo little difficulty, he alwaies preferred a ſoft and feareful remedie before boldneſſe and ſeueritie, whereto alſo the mind of one of his chiefe counſailers of eſtate, who hath likewiſe had moſt gouernement ouer him, hath beene a great helpe to

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inure him. Hee is the firſt king that euer the captaines and gouernors of his holds compounded withall, or demanded money of to giue them vp: I meane not thoſe onely, whom the ielouſie of the ciuil wars had made partial, but the others alſo that haue alwaies takē his part. He is the firſt king whom men might boldly without feare offend. For, for my part that which another would peraduenture in a king terme clemencie and mercie, and which particularly he would commend in this man, becauſe he neuer ſought greatly to reuenge ſuch iniuries as many had committed againſt him, I would ſometimes, eſpecially when it doth exceed, call negligence: which is preiudiciall to his maieſtie, and which if it be not to be reproued, is not at the leaſt greatly to be cōmended in a prince. Albeit this is to be granted, that when theſe miſerable wars began againe, God had put ſundrie good motions in his minde, and hee was entred into a way fully to reforme his realme, and relieue his people, ſo as thoſe of the league had neuer committed other treſpaſſe in *France* then this breaking of his good intents, yet haue they heaped a wonderfull burthen of curſes vpon their owne heads. Wel, now to returne to the preſent eſtate wherein he now ſtandeth, and his purpoſes: vndoubtedly he hath ſuch as are moſt lawful, for they tend onely to the preſeruation of his life, & maintenance of that authoritie which God hath giuen him, howbeit in the cōduct of them he hath a very bad cauſe, cruell to his people, noiſome to his realme and dangerous to himſelfe, as the effect doth ſufficiently ſhew. This mightie prince doth as well know whereat the D. of *Guize* ſhooteth as another: and hee hath reaſon, ſith it is at himſelfe that he chiefely aimeth, albeit being miſcounſailed he hath hitherto taken but a crooked way to withſtand it. Indeed he is in ſome ſort to be excuſed, as hauing no one about him, whoſe counſaile is not preuented either by deſire or feare, and hauing on his ſide almoſt none but himſelfe. When the D. of *Guize* had thus armed himſelfe vnder the name of the holy league (a name but too well knowne alredy in *France*) they ſtraightway propounded vnto him a moſt falſe principle, viz. that in his realme there were but two factions, The *Huguonets* & the *Catholikes*: that vnleſſe hee woulde take vppon him the gouernement of

the one he ſhould haue none to take his part, & ſo according to the prouerbe, betweene two ſtooles the taile goeth to the ground: That the *Hugonets* were the weakeſt and therefore that conſequently it were beſt for him to ioine with the catholiks, for in ſo doing he ſhould win to himſelf all the credit which the houſe of *Guiz* had alredie gotten, which would be their deſtruction and his preſeruation: that for the atchiuing hereof he muſt ſhew himſelfe moſt paſsionate & cruell to the heretikes, & make war vpon them in earneſt, yea & exceed al men in wiſhing their harme: and that by that onely meanes reclaiming al the catholike faction to himſelf, & taking vpon him to be head thereof, he might with eaſe both ouerthrow the houſe of *Guiz* which he both feared & hated, & by war rid himſelf of the *Hugonets* and their captaines, to whom he wiſhed no great good. This was their counſaile, which is to the great preiudice both of his realme and himſelfe, he hath hitherto beleeued: God grant he may now conſider of it, & perceiue that the effects thereof in lieu of making him, as hee was perſwaded, captaine of the catholike faction, haue now brought him to be the onely miniſter of the D. of *Guizes* paſſions: in ſuch ſort that ſo ſoon as the other did but lift againſt him, he beleeued, that to diminiſh his credite & meanes, he muſt needs ſhew himſelf very buſie againſt *Hugonets* & thervpon with notable commiſsions, terrible edicts, & mighty armies ſhew himſelf rigorous to thoſe that feare & honor him, and which offer him no iniury, & fauorable to thoſe that deuour him at his owne gate. Thus ſo ſoone as he had receiued ſome cracke by thoſe of the league, as ſoone as they began ſome mutinie againſt him, or that they ſeiſed vpon any town of his, ſo ſoone I ſay, might the king of *Nauar* be ſure that he would be vpon his iacke, and with all ſend an armie againſt him. Oh blinde Prince, that thought that thoſe men which willingly would haue ſeene him dead, grounded themſelues but vpon one pretence, and in caſe that ſhould faile him, hee would wreſt from them by imagination that which by force he durſt not proue! Curſſed be you that giue him counſaile. Are yee not aſhamed yee traiterous counſailers? muſt a king ſuffer factions in his eſtate? muſt he needs haue any other the his owne? Is it not a goodly part to be a king? If you ſay that

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these two factions were there alredy, and past remedy: O ye wretches, who brought them in but your selues, that still do norish them? Is not ciuill warre the mother of these factions: cease that, and you shall see them flie. Let a king keepe himselfe in his strength, and kinglike say, *I will haue peace*, and you shall see that the boldest of these partakers durst not gainesay it: if he must needs make warre, let it be against him that would hinder the peace, and hee will soone ouercome him. Neuertheless, according to this principle, they made him to beleeue that there was no safetie for him vnlesse himselfe would vndertake the same pretence, as the fauourer of the league: also that it were requisite that he should in apparance shew himselfe more earnest against the protestants thē they: That the catholikes were alredie vnited with the D. of *Guize* against the others: That the onely meanes to disunite them, was to take the D. of *Guizes* place, and thunder against the *Huguonets*. This was his beliefe & his counsaile. In the meane time together with this perswasion, feare seised vpon him: yea such a feare as was chiefely grounded vpō a iust mistrust of those whom he had euen about him: so as so soone as he sawe the league armed, the gates of *Paris* were scarce sure enough for him, himselfe visited them, and wheras he might with his onely countenance haue sent all the authors of this mutinie an hundred foot vnder ground, so soone as he heard of it he was amased: he by & by sent his mother to thē to desire them to be content: to excuse him, for that in the time of peace he made not so great account of them as he ought: to promise that hereafter he would content them, yea that they should but aske & al should be granted them. To be short, he did in a maner humble himself before his subiects, to the end to keepe them from mutining against him, wheras it had bin his part to haue taught thē, that he both would & could punish their rebellion. Al this notwithstanding he had no great mind to the war, as wisely considering that it was a diminishing of his authoritie, and if he feared it against the league, hee was not desirous of it against the protestantes: but at length being ouercome by his mother, who had other drifts in her braine then hee, and almost by all that were about him, he grew to a finall accorde with the Duke of *Guize*, and

perforce consented to the war against the K. of *Navar*, vnto whom not one moneth before he had by thirty letters of his owne hande testified his owne iudgement of the intents of those of the league. This hath beene the counsaile that the king hath hitherto had. Now there is no doubt but he could haue wished the king of *Navarre* to haue bene strong inough to haue forced both the others & himselfe to grow to peace: but of his owne motion to propound it he neuer durst: for had hee done it, he looked straight to haue beene stifeled by the mutinous faction of the league. Well, hee mindeth to liue, to reigne and to be obeyed as well of the protestants as of those of the league. A desire both iust and reasonable, and so he might, if he wold: but with these pernitious principles, sith himselfe calleth his power into question, and dare not doo the part of a king, let him not thinke it strange that others should enterprise to counterfeit his person. God grant that at length he may earnestly desire to be that he is, that is, the master and greatest lord of his realme: but this can not be, vnlesse he be king, and that shall he neuer be, except hee resolue himselfe to wish the wealth and peace of his people.

As touching the king of *Navarre*, his condition and intent, it is cleane contrarie or differing from both the others, of which I haue alreadie spoken. Euen as he agreeth with the kings purpose in the behalfe of preseruing of his life and authoritie, where against he neither could, neither would attempt any thing: so likewise hee differeth from him in that that concerneth the libertie of the churches of *France*, for the which the war is made against himselfe, whiles hee goeth about to release them from it. But he is euery way contrary & opposite vnto the enterprises of the duke of *Guize* and the league. First, whereas the other, to whom ambition giueth the same hope for the crowne of *France*, which right and nature hath giuen vnto this, cannot put it in practise but by warre, by the subuersion of lawes, and alteration of the state of the realme: for if he should make no inuasion, or if euerie thing kept their ordinary course, he hath no right to it, no he could not be called to it. This on the other side cānot looke for it but by the meanes of peace, by keeping euery thing in order, his desire is ordinarie, and in maintaining the lawes,

his

his title is lawfull. And if he would take any other way by violence or vsurping, he should find his riuall as much stronger and surely setled in this behalfe, ouer that he is, as hee hath an aduantage in the true succession. In the meane while besides the right of the realm which looketh on him, he carrieth moreouer vppon his shoulders the burden of all the churches of *France*, he beareth all their hope vpon his head: his ouerthrow to mans likelihood is their ruine and oppression: his greatnesse their libertie. And that is it which encreaseth the power of his enimies, and which lincketh togither against him al the catholikes of *Europe*. Of truth, whiles I thinke nowe vpon this one, as I did lately vpon the other, me thinketh that God vnder these two mightie men, will exercise our state: the one hauing yet more strength of bodie and minde to preserue it, than the other hath to destroy it. But the other hauing as yet more meanes, by the reason of the opportunity which he had, to ioine with the greater side, and to haue had the means to vse euen the kings authority: this will cause me to make some small digression to compare them together: for such are they, as they well deserue to be inserted into *Plutarkes* paralels. I force my selfe as much as may be, to iudge of them without affectiō, although I should in respect of my religion, my side, and infinite other occasions fauour the one more than the other: yet I wot not whether this affection doth not robbe me of the libertie of my iudgement. But me thinketh that this man, how worthy so euer the other is, hath many good parts in him whereby he goeth beyond him. I speake not of their practises, I call them not in question. I do not so much as giue my iudgement of those of the duke of *Guize*, but condemne them: For I am a *Frenchman*: I speake onely of such qualities as God hath indued them withall, proper in the one to haue them such, and in the other to oppose himselfe against them: I will say then that this man hath all his life through, yea from the beginning of his youth fought against necessitie it selfe, all his businesse hath beene full of it, he neuer did any thing but with paine, the other contrariwise hath had all to his mind, had alwaies all opportunitie for the first. Item of his enterprises, wanted alwaies rather workemanship than worke, ra-

ther forme then matter, rather will then meanes. Nothing did aſsiſt this, neither did any thing reſiſt the other. This maketh mee to conclude firſt, that ſeeing by theſe ſundrie waies they haue found themſelues one as great as the other: the one muſt needs haue learned more, haue more experiēce more courage, more force: the other more ambition, more hope, a thing bred in him by the greatneſſe of his meanes, & by conſequent of more enterpriſe, and more audacitie. That the one hath leſſe ſhew, leſſe vanitie, leſſe pompe, & leſſe brauerie in his affaires; the other leſſe experience, leſſe aſſurāce, and leſſe ſtabilitie. Which maketh me to thinke that whenſoeuer this man ſhall find himſelfe in great abundance, hee ſhalbe better able to vſe it, then the other could defend himſelfe againſt neceſſitie, if euer he were brought to it. I will make no mention of the former wars, wherin notwithſtanding the duke of *Guize* had fortunes giftes alwaies at will: and this man contrariwiſe hath often tried what miſery may, yea euen the extremeſt: (I ſpeake of that whereof I wil now ſay:) that if I had ſeene this great enterpriſer aſſailed two whole yeares, by eight French armies, which were ſent to the refreſhing one of an other, & led on a row by the beſt Captains of *France*, amongſt the which I account his brother the duke of *Maine*: and that at his departure from thence, not onely he had loſt nothing, but beſides that he had takē ſeuen or eight good townes, & wonne a great battaile, hauing in his hands no other meanes in the world to build his deedes vpon, but his courage alone, as I haue ſeene happen to the king of *Nauar*, I would then thinke that I might cōpare them togither: but vntill then, there is no reaſon ſo to do. Some will ſay to me that the D. of *Guize* hath had many more enterpriſes and greater ones, & all that the king of *Nauarre* could do, it was to reſiſt, I grant it. It was an eaſie matter for the one to enterpriſe, euerie one fauouring him: difficult to the other to reſiſt, euery one being againſt him. As the labour, ſo the glorie ought to be greater. They haue notwithſtauding manie humours both like and different, but no ſmall thinges, no ſlender ones. Both are of great courage, they had neede of it: both are gentle, courteous, friendly: both are actiue of bodie, vſed to toyle, and acceptable. But their mindes are much

much diuerſe. The one is moſt honeſt, franke, openhearted, free minded, ſometimes ſomewhat haſtie, well reſolued notwithſtanding vpon preſent occaſion, and dangers: ſo earneſt about that which is laide before him, and ſo beſtirring himſelfe about the yron that ought to bee beaten whiles it is hote, that he hath the leſſe regard to that which is paſſed, as alſo to that which he muſt follow: he will conceiue few farre fetched practiſes, beeing content with his hope, and referring all thereto. The other is diuerſe and as bad as may be, ſecret, cloſe, craftie, patient, euen ſo farre as to bee blamed for it, as I haue ſaide, diſſembling, laying downe his platformes a farre off. For hee muſt forge his owne hope, looking a loofe off, taking nothing in hande but what hee is ſure to bring to paſſe: but I wotte not, if he were vpon the verie point of daunger, whether he would vſually growe to ſo readie a reſolution, ſith hee hath not had ſo often triall thereof. Howſoeuer the matter goeth they are both woorthie men, and of the woorthieſt that euer *France* did beare, ſuch as coulde haue performed notable actions, if a mightie king would haue vſed them, and his time haue ſuffered it. To come againe to the matter. As for the king of *Nauar*, he neither hath, neither ought to haue any practiſe about the ſtate, his poſsibilitie doth ſufficiently furniſh him, and beſides, he hath enough to do to breake thoſe of his enimies: his warre tendeth onely to peace, and the quietnes of the realme: but ſuch a peace as to the which he will neuer agree, except the churches of *France*, & ſo conſequently the ſtrãgers if he can, may be at liberty. He nedeth not plead his right to the crown it is no time: moreouer, that which is ſure, ought not to bee called into doubt or queſtiõ: much les need he buſie himſelfe about the ouerthrow of thoſe of *Guiz* & *Lorraine*. He wiſheth not their harm, except as they with the realmes, to the which if they would bee profitable, hee acknowledgeth them moſt ſufficient, as concerning their particular perſons. Their degree is not equall with his, who weareth the name of a king. That name keepeth him from thinking vpon theirs. His only drift & purpoſe (if he hath any) tendeth to defend himſelf, & after ſuch a ſort, that he may conſtrain his enimies to render vnto *France* his peace, to the king his authority, to him & his

their

their libertie. After that, let them of *Guize* enrich and aduance themſelues as much as they can, ſo it be not to the coſt of one of theſe three, it skils him not. The proceeding and the way that he taketh about it, is not certaine, it dependeth vpon the ſame which the others do hold againſt him. If they let him alone, he ſtirreth not: if they come to weapons, hee runnes to them: if they laie them downe, he doth the like: that is the reaſon why the king knoweth in his heart, that when the reſt of *France* ſhalbe agreed, that there will be little or no difficultie at all with this man, who being ledde onely by reaſon, may be at all times eaſily brought to it againe.

I haue ſpoken of the three principall heads which vphold the three factions that are in *France*: wee are nowe to marke ſuch as come in by bi-waies, what drift and ſcope they haue, whereat they aime, and what hope they haue to hit on it. Amongſt theſe, the firſt is the Queene mother vnto the king, who for her credits ſake, and in ſhew, keepeth her ſelfe on her ſonnes ſide, as ſhe did alwaies, when ſhee had many ſonnes, hold with him that was king: but who notwithſtanding hateth nothing more than his abſolute power, as beeing the worſe for it. When *France* was in peace, ſhe was faine her rock at home, her ſon left her no charge, nor deling in any matter. That ſhe might recouer her authoritie, ſhe was fain to ſhuffell the cardes, or haue intelligence with thoſe that ſhuffeled them, otherwiſe ſhe was of no vſe: which her mind, that could not thinke on ſmall matters, could neuer brooke. And of this Princeſſe whoſe race hath ruled, & ruleth at this day ouer the beſt parts of *Europe*, it may be ſaide as it was of *Agrippa*, *Vitiis curis muliebria vitia exuiſſe*. If that alreadie were not a vice in a woman: it hath beene alwaies her cuſtome, in *France* to ſtirre vp one againſt another, that in the meane while ſhe might rule in theſe diuiſions. The mightie againſt the mightie, Princes againſt Princes, yea her owne children againſt her children. For ſhe know wel enough that our ſtate ſtandeth ſo, as that a woman, except it be by ſome extraordinarie waies, is of no credite therein.

In the time of the late king *Charles*, this that nowe is, was then her protector, whoſe power ſhe did increaſe as much as ſhe could, to the end ſhe might vſe him to make her ſelfe neceſſarie

ceſſarie vnto the other. The king at length perceiued it, but too late. Since that, this beeing come vnto the Crowne, wherein to ſpeake the truth, hee was infinitely bound vnto her, whiles he was in *Polande*, being as well aſſured that except ſhee had wiſely prouided for it, there had beene ſuch ſtirringes in *France* as perchance at his comming home hee had beene kept from getting in. Shee kept her credite for three or foure yeares, whileſt this yoong king dreamed of nothing but the pleaſures of his age, and the deliciouſneſſe of his newe eſtate: but ſince, beginning to take vppon him the affirmatiue voice, and to ſeeke to rule alone, ſhe was forced to haue recourſe vnto Mounſieur her yoonger ſonne, who for a while vphelde her, and made her to be eſteemed neceſſarie. He being deade, ſhee choſe other remedies: for howſoeuer it bee, ſhee hath euer wiſhed two thinges. The one, to make him that was in poſsibilitie of the Crowne to bee beholding vnto her, for to keepe him in when hee were come to it: The other, to make him in the meane while ſo great, that he that were maſter of the State, ſhould bee forced to vſe her helpe in brideling the other, employing after this manner verie quietly both their powers one againſt the other, that betwixt them ſhee might rule and be ſought to: ſuch a councell as particularlie for her ſelfe was as full of wiſedome as often full of troubles and inconueniences for the commons. Nowe, if after Mounſieurs death, ſhee had founde the king of *Nauarre* fitte for theſe practiſes, ſhe had made her buckler of him: but ſeeing that his religion, and many other conſiderations did hinder her, ſhe hath caſt both her eyes and her heart on the houſe of *Lorraine*, and her daughters children, whereunto the hatred that ſhee did beare vnto this Prince, euen from his infancie hath beene a great helpe: So that eſteeming her ſelfe not able to bee reconciled with him, ſhee conſequently dooth feare him, and is fully reſolued to hinder him in all that ſhee can, from getting anie part in *France*. Shee can neuer doo it without the ouerthrowe of the order of the Realme. For (as I ſaide) after this hatred commeth in the loue ſhee beareth vnto the children of the D. of *Lorraine*, who are her daughters children, towards whome ſhe hath a ſecret inclination,

neuer ceasing day nor night to reproch vnto the king, that he ought rather to loue as his heires, his Nephewes, his Sisters children, then a stranger vnto his house: so dooth shee terme the king of *Nauarre*. The daughters of *Spaine* are also her daughters children, vpon whome she would likewise be glad to bestowe some part of the same: not being grieued in the meane while that her sons state is in trouble, to the ende that he should haue refuge vnto her, and that she may be imployed. Now in this manner she agreeth well with the Duke of *Guize*, to crosse her sonne, to stirre vp, and open the way to confusion, and about the meanes to alter the order of succession in our realme: but to wish that hee shoulde waxe so great that he might ouerthrow the king himselfe, & dispossesse him, and himselfe afterward to inuade the whole state, it is not likely, I cannot beleeue that she desireth it. Now vnder this the Queene mothers intent, I comprehend also that of the Marquise *du Pont*, her little sonne, sonne vnto the Duke of *Lorraine*, who likewise hath no intelligence or hope in this our state, any further then she his grandmother doth procure him to conceiue.

Next, there is the king of *Spaine*, who from the beginning of these wars, seeing the Queene of England to knit a straite alliance with our king, seeing in the same time also the Commissioners of the low countries at *Paris* to offer him the soueraignte ouer their prouinces, it came in his head to cast three or foure thousand crownes into the hungrie hands of the league, so to set *France* in troubles, as being assured that by these meanes he should keepe the king from thinking vpon *Flanders*, the which he did most feare: as indeed, there is but the onely king of *France*, so he be in peace, that can easily take these Prouinces from the Spaniarde. This is that which brought him in, and consequently, that somewhat ouerhastned the Duke of *Guizes* deuises. Besides that, hee feareth now extremely, least the king of *Nauarre* should attaine to the crowne of *France*: hee is his enimie by nature: he detaineth a kingdome from him, which no doubt if the others clawes may growe on, will bee wholly pulled away, and more perchance withall. Hee knoweth well enough, that he being olde, his children yoong, his state deuided and

scarse

ſcarſe ſetled, ſmall matters after his death will trouble it: much more a king of *Nauarre*, if he were king of *Fraunce*. Therfore he is glad to frame himſelfe vnto thoſe of *Lorraine*, to finde them meanes to ſtirre vp coales, that in the meane while he may more freely goe about his warres of the lowe countries, and of Englande: to moleſt the king of *France*, thereby to ouerthrowe the king of *Nauarre*: to the end that afterward the realm being left for a pray, he being the mightieſt, might catch the greater part. This is his drift as cõcerning our ſtate: but that he would proceede ſo farre as being burdened with many other particular expences, he wold yet draw his treaſors drie, to make the Duke of *Guize* king: he I ſay, who is perſwaded that if it were ſo that the maner of ſucceſsion muſt needs be altered, his daughters the kinges Nieces, ought to haue the better part: That which I ſay of the K. of *Spaine* may likewiſe be applied to the duke of *Sauoy* his ſon in law, who is of much leſſe power, and hath no other deuiſes then his father in lawes. Theſe are all that either doo good or euill vnto *France*. Theſe are her good or bad humours: Theſe are the proſperous or contrary windes which torment & trouble it. And of their diſcordes and paſsions as diuerſe as themſelues, as differing and contrarie as they are, dependeth her good or euill happe. Oh mightie Empire! the glorie of *Europe*: to the which the courſe of 1200. yeares could bring nothing but encreaſe, thy enemies nothing but glorie, there was ſome reaſon that after ſo manie victories, thou ſhouldeſt ende by thy owne handes, thou ſhouldeſt ſtoupe vnder thine owne force, ſeeing deſtinie had not created in the world any conquerour ouer thee.

But leauing of this maner of ſpeech, which rather prouoketh me to weepe than to write: ſeeing that the diuiſion of religion doth ſerue for a pretence in the alteration of our Realme, and ſo conſequently in his deſtruction, if God ſuffer it ſo, this euill being almoſt cõmon to all the ſtates of *Europe*. I will ſlippe a little aſide to ſpeake ſomewhat of the generall affaires of Chriſtendome, in that which cõcerneth theſe two great factions, the one reſting yet vnder the obedience of the Pope, the other hauing caſt it off. I will not entreat hereof as a Diuine. I knowe verie well that God commonly try-

eth his by affections, as the meanes to keepe men in their dueties, and immediatly to haue recourse vnto him whom they thinke but little vppon whiles their necke is swollen vp with prosperitie. Neither am I ignorant that the sonne of God pronounceth these wordes: *My kingdome is not of this worlde*: thereby teaching to the true Christians, that it is not here that they ought to seeke their ease, and although they finde themselues afflicted, yet must they not mistrust of their cause, as if God did detest them, and were purposed to roote them out from the face of the earth, albeit contrariwise, they see the Turkes, the Heathen, the poore blinded ones in Popish superstitions, haue all at will: and conquer Realmes, furnish Prouinces, and them of veines of golde which neuer drie vp, and their armies prosper euerie where. That their good happe procureth them such men as to doo them seruice will attempt vppon those Princes liues that are their enimies, euen in the middest of their Gardes. Finally, they scarse haue yet wished, when God suffereth them to see their desire fulfilled. Where cleane contrariwise hee hath laide this necessitie vppon his true seruantes, that they shall take his crosse vpon their shoulders if they will followe him, passe through the straight gate, and after his example passe away their whole life in griefe, affliction, & in necessitie. According to these rules and tokens, which cannot be applyed to any other, then those that make profession of the true reformed religion, it might suffice me to conclude, that they whom God afflicteth after this sort, are his true children, whom hee will afflict, but not vtterlie cast away: whom he will chastice, but not punish: whom he vseth as his children that offended him, in doing otherwise than he commanded them, and not as seruantes that haue robbed him. And after such a maner, that although at this day throughout all Christendome the greatest potentates of the worlde bee confederated, vnited, and ioyned togither against them, it is all in vaine. God will neuer suffer that which is his to bee cast away: they are his, hee well may dippe them two or three fingers in the water: but presently hee will stretch foorth his arme of deliuerance to pull them out of the gulph: and that could I (besides the indubita-

dubitable trueth of that promiſe which he made vnto his) prooue by the courſe of things that are paſſed in the church ſince the foundation of the world. But as I haue ſaid, my purpoſe is not to reaſon like a diuine. It ſufficeth me to prooue that we haue not only that great ſupernatural piller of Gods power for our defence, as an impenetrable ſhield, againſt the which, all the dartes of the worlde turne their points backwards: but alſo euen in the worlde it ſelfe, and among all humaine meanes he hath giuen vs without compariſon more then our enimies: ſo that if we ſuffer that they afflict vs, it is but our fault, becauſe we cannot helpe our ſelues with that power that he hath giuen vs. All Chriſtendome which is vnder the Popes obedience, is at this day ioyned togither to roote out thoſe of the religion. Who are thoſe wicked ones? let vs iudge of their power, and ſee whether it be ſo great as that we need to feare it. It is the Pope, it is the Emperour it is the king of *Spaine*, there be certaine Potentates of *Italie*: In *France* are the duke of *Guize* and his kinſmen, who make the king and the realme to ſerue their turnes as they liſt. In *Switzerland* there are certaine Cantons: In *Germanie*, diuers princes. I haue named all, and them by the moſt glorious names that I could deuiſe: there are Popes, Emperors, Kings, and numbers of Princes. It is ſaide that all theſe terrors of the worlde are gathered togither to this purpoſe onely, to make an end of thoſe which profeſſe the true religion, God grant it, ſo be it. The more enimies, the greater glorie. But let vs ſearch them a little nearer, wee ſhall finde that all theſe men haue ſome particular intent which they keepe to themſelues, and that to maintaine their vnitie they all agree onely in the generall. What intentes? let vs ſpecially conſider of them. The Popes is manifeſt: *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and *Caluin*, haue abridged him of two partes of his reuenues: the thirde is in great danger, they labour about it. He would both recouer that which he hath loſt, if it were poſsible, and aſſure againſt hereafter, that which he holdeth. The whole realme of England is ſlipped out of his handes: if the king of *Spaine* could plant there againe the catholike religion, it were ſo much recouered for him. *France* hath neuer ſhewed him anie great obedience, the church of *France* had alwaies her priuiled-

ges by her ſelfe: yet it is nothing, thinketh hee, In reſpect of that it ſhoulde bee, if euer the king of *Nauarre* ſhould come to bee king of it. He feareth leaſt he ſhould come ouer the Alpes: he is of the race of *Bourbon*, fatall vnto *Rome*: beſides that hee is alreadie egged on againſt the Popes, for his kingdome of *Nauarre*, which moſt vniuſtly they haue paſſed ouer vnto the Kinges of *Caſtile*. Moreouer, he feareth leaſt that a mightie Prince like vnto this, doo one day bring a great reformation in religion, which can not bee doone without diminiſhing the authoritie of the ſea: which notwithſtanding will bee as eaſie for him to doo, as it was for *Philippe* the faire, and manie other kinges of *Fraunce*, enemies to the Popes vſurpations. Thus his chiefeſt intereſt is to cut this Prince ſhort of his hope. For his part hee dooth what hee can, hee thundreth, hee ſtormeth, he curſeth, hee declareth him an heretike, a rebell: finally, not capable of the Crowne of *France*, as though it lay in him to take it away, or to giue it. For the execution of this Bull, which in deede of it ſelfe could doo but little againſt the bulwarkes of *Rochell*, (if that were all) he armeth all Chriſtendome, yea euen the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, to whome hee ſendeth a hallowed ſworde, of the race of Saint *Paule*: hee promiſeth money vnto the *Guiſians*: hee promiſeth, but hee ſendeth not, as hauing not yet paide that which his Popedome did coſt him, according to the Romiſh ſtile.

To conclude, as it belongeth to him, hee worketh myracles with his Croſier ſtaffe, and his purpoſe and drift is, to animate all the worlde againſt the heretikes, among whom hee comprehendeth the Queene of Englande, and the king of *Nauarre* his principall enemie to his thinking, whoſe ouerthrowe hee looketh for, by the meanes of this vniuerſall league. As much or more occaſion hath hee to complaine of the high and lowe Germanie, as of *Fraunce*, and Englande: but hee thinketh that after that the king of *Spaine* and thoſe of *Guize* ſhall haue chaſticed, that is to ſaie, vſurped *France*, and Englande, in driuing out the heretikes, that is to ſay, the true princes and lawfull lordes: after that they ſhall haue tamed the lowe countries, they may without any

any gainesaying ioyne their forces with the Emperors, so to constraine either by friendship or force the Princes of *Germanie* which are Protestants, to come againe vnder the yoke of his obedience: that after that, being no great likelihood that the *Switzers* would obstinate themselues against such great forces, seeing their Cantons are alreadie deuided, they altogither might easily assist the Duke of *Sauoy*, to recouer *Geneua*, and to sacke that towne which they call the spring and fountaine of all heretikes of Christendome. It is there that hee concludeth the ende of his desire, and of his holie leagues enterprise. Which I haue seene written by Pope *Sixtus* himselfe, in a letter intercepted about the beginning of these troubles in *France*, sent from *Italie* into *Spaine*. And as for him, this is his pretence, that is his intent grounded vpon that generall hatred which hee beareth to the heretikes, but especially vnto the king of *Nauarre*, and the Queene of England, of whom he hath receiued harme enough alreadie, or is afraid to receiue more.

The king of *Spaine* hath three particular purposes, for the which he wisheth this generall league. The first to compasse the warres of the lowe countries which are helde by those whome hee calleth heretikes, and against the Queene of Englande, who is likewise of their number. The seconde his hereditarie desire to ioyne *France* vnto his dominions: which hee thinketh he may nowe the more easily doo, in respect of the right that belongeth vnto him through his wife, a daughter of *France*, and his daughters gotten betwixt them: for as for him, hee thinketh not that the Salike lawe, the honour of our kings, was made for him. The last, the ouerthrowe of the king of *Nauarre*, whome hee purposeth, whatsoeuer it costeth him, to remooue as much as hee can possiblie from the crowne, for manie reasons that hee hath to feare this great enimie, whome God keepeth for to be one day the destruction of his house. For the benefite of these three purposes, hee is come in, and hath much solicited this generall league, which strengtheneth to him his title of war against England: of enmity against the king of *Nauar*: ministreth to him opportunity to enterprise vnder hand against the state of *France* whilest he fauoureth the affaires of

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the Dnke of *Guize* his partner, with whom, except it were for this, he could haue no intelligence that might yeeld him any profite: by his meanes in *France* he doth hope to ouerthrow the king of *Nauarre*, also he hopeth to vse the hauens of *Picardie*, and *Normandie* against England, & the low countries: being sure enough afterward, that the king of *France* being dead, his lawfull successor dispossessed, and the realme left as a pray, he shalbe able easily to deuide their part vnto those of *Lorraine*, being stronger then they: and thus may we see that he turneth the general pretence of this goodly league to his particular benefit and purpose, euen as though it had beene onely made for his domesticall affaires.

The Emperour would galdly, that all the other Princes of Christendome which are of the religion, were ouerthrowne, to the end the whole bodie of the league might come to set him free from the protestants which are his neighbours: but because it is yet a long peece of worke, and that it were not good for him to bestirre himselfe much, least he should waken those mightie princes which are stronger then himselfe: he rusheth not far in amongst them, no more then the other princes of *Germanie*.

I haue discoursed enough of the duke of *Guizes* intent and purpose, which is to make himselfe alone king of *France*, if it be possible, or at least of the better part: such a purpose as willingly admitteth no fellow, & for the which a man wil not lightly labour for another. This I doo heere note onely to shewe that to helpe himselfe in *Fraunce* by the meanes of *Spaine*, to the furtherance of his enterprise, & in recompence thereof himselfe to helpe the Spaniard to recouer his lowe countries: to see the Queene of England, to whom he wisheth euen death it selfe, whom likewise he knoweth to be the only support of his enimie, quite ouerthrowne, he wil haue notable intelligence with the king of *Spaine*: but to yeelde him wholy the crowne of *France*, and to holde it of him by homage, if he be able to vsurpe it, or to giue him ouer the better part, I beleeue he will not. In the meane while these pretences being grounded vpon nothing else then the diuision of religion, wee must confesse him to bee one of the chiefest pillers of this holy league.

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The princes of *Italie* haue no other purpose at al then their owne preseruation, being enclosed on one side by the Pope, on the other by the *Venetians*, on the thirde by the king of *Spaine*: besides deuided, and their States so small, that they haue smal leasure to think of any other matter thē to maintaine themselues: and for this reason only are they come into the league. But they are not so good catholikes, but that they feare more the encrease of the house of *Spaine*, then the decay of their religion. Such as haue beene in their countries do know this

The Duke of *Sauoy* is also comprehended in this generall vnion: so long as his father in law shall liue, he will haue the same enterprises that he hath: if he dieth, he wil haue others, as I shall shewe anone, which altogither doo synpathise with those of the league. The duke of *Lorraine* likewise, when euery bodie shall come to reape the fruit of his labour, and the interest of his charges, his conclusion wil not agree with the D. of *Guizes* proposition. The Cantons of *Zuitzerland* are not in my opinion entred into the league, becausse of the alliance which they haue with our king, and the bonde that knitteth them togither in their countrie. Notwithstanding I doubt not, but that for mony they will finde forces, not generallie vnto the league, but particularly to the Duke of *Guize*, yet haue they after made some difficultie thereof.

Of purpose haue I shewed the intent of each partaker of the league, to prooue that which I haue said, that euerie one of them had some particular meaning disagreeing one from another: to the end that thereby I might shewe, that whatsoeuer good intelligence they had one with another, it were verie easie for vs to haue a better. All with one course will I seeke out, what are their meanes and their forces: in the which I hope to finde so many wantes in respect of that which is in our handes, that we would bee ashamed to suffer our selues to bee beaten. I will beginne with the weakest. Of which number I take the Emperour and the Catholike princes of *Germanie* to bee. For although vndoubtedly they bee of great power, yet the Protestantes their neighbours are of such force, as euerie man dooth knowe: to witte, the king of *Denmarke*, the Electours *Palatin*, of *Saxonie*, and

Brandenbourgh, the Landgraue of *Heſsia*, and manie other great princes and lordes; ſo that if they woulde, the other durſt not ſeeme to haue enterpriſed any thing at all. I haue ſhewed what the forces of the Cantons of *Zuitzerland* are, and howe the generall league may haue vſe of them. As for the princes of *Italie*, the Duke of *Sauoy*, as our neareſt neighbour, is the moſt to be feared of them all. But firſt, it is but a ſmall matter of forces that may come from him: next, hee rather reſteth vppon ſure poſsibilities, then vppon vncerteine ones. His father in lawe is elde, at his death hee hopeth to get ſomewhat, and I doo thinke that hee will rather caſt his eies vpon the ſtates of *Millaine* and *Naples*, if the ſucceſsion of *Spaine* come to bee deuided, as there is great likelihood: for the daughters who are as ambitious as may bee, and alreadie by their father himſelfe trained vp in the handling of affaires, and almoſt put in full poſſeſsion of his kingdomes, will hardly bee content to bee married for a peece of money, and leaue ſuch great riches vnto their yoong brother, ſicklie, and as they ſay, an Idiot: ſo that, mee thinketh this Duke hath worke enough cut out already, needing not to buſie himſelfe much about any enterpriſes on this ſide of the Mounts, which encloſe him in. On the other ſide beyond them, he can doo ſo little though hee woulde, and hee findeth himſelfe in a countrey ſo full of diſaduantage, that beeing of one ſide kept by the *Germaines*, on another by the *Zuitzers*, on the other by the Frenchmen, and on all ſides by the Alpes, ſuch forces as hee coulde raiſe out of his countrie, which can bee but verie ſmall, cannot bee tranſported to anie place, where they may performe anie thing without great loſſe and difficultie. As for his money, to make good cheere at home hee hath enough: but to make a great warre, not ſo. The other Princes of *Italie*, as the Dukes of *Ferrara*, of *Mantoue*, of *Florence*, and of *Vrbin*, which are almoſt the chiefeſt, bee all added to, for to encreaſe their rolle, and to ſay: *Loe what a number here is*, and not for any other matter: If there were anie warre in *Italie* betwixt two mightie Princes, ſuch as were *Charles* of *Spaine* and *Francis* of *France*, they might indeede much further his affaires, whome they would aſsiſt. If there muſt be an army made

made vp by ſea againſt the Turke, each one of them ſhall well be able to ſet foorth a Galley or twaine, and that is all: but that they may doo much in a great warre, either againſt vs in *France*, or in *England*, or in *Germanie*, or in *Flanders*, not ſo. Beſides that, as I haue noted, they will neuer be ſo deepe in the league, but that they will feare more the encreaſe of *Spaine*, then the decreaſing of *Rome*. The Duke of *Parma*, as he is Duke of *Parma*, may be of the number of them, but in reſpect that hee commandeth ouer the forces of the king of *Spaine* in the lowe countries, ſurely hee is a great captaine, without doubt he hath gotten great reputation and credite, bee it amongeſt the Armies which hee commandeth ouer, bee it amongſt the countries where he maketh warre, yea, a credite by inheritance, the remembrance of his mothers gouernment, being moſt agreeable amongſt them. But withall, hee were but vnwiſe, as well as the Duke of *Sauoy*, if he had not certaine purpoſes to himſelfe, or if hee would ſticke more to vaine poſsibilities then to certainties. For my part I beleeue, that hee is not reſolued to haue laboured all this while in *Flanders* for an other. But there is a farther point in this matter, which is, that as long as he ſhall make war there, as Lieutenant to the king of *Spaine*, he may do much harme: but if once hee take the way to make himſelfe lorde of it, as he may eaſily in that which he holdeth, after the good mans death, ſeeing hee can onely perfourme it by gentle meanes, and the good will of the people, hee is not to be feared any more, but muſt needes withdraw himſelfe out of the league. As for the Duke of *Lorraine*, hee is a great lorde, but a pettie Prince: take away from before his eies the hope of poſsibilities, which they made him conceiue in *France*, for his ſonne, which only hath brought him in, with the league, hee will eftſoones take that ſide which may breede his owne quietneſſe, and not ſeeke any quarrell. Hee is verie wiſe: and therefore I beleeue that our ſtirrings in *France* proceede not from him at this time. Notwithſtãding there is no doubt but that hee employeth himſelfe in this generall matter againſt vs: but I thinke that in this point there reſteth this benefite, viz. as long as he ſhall hinder the growing vp of the Duke of *Guize* his coſin, as he muſt needes do, for his ſonnes

ſake, he doth vs more good, then otherwiſe he could do vs harme: now he hindreth him in reſpect of the crowne, the which at length agreeing and hauing ſome intelligence with the Queene mother vnto the king, his mother in lawe, hee will rather demand for his ſonne then for the other. And I holde it for a moſt true principle, that the duke of *Guize* our capitall aduerſarie, is alreadie ſo farre in, that he muſt needs either be king, or be vndone altogither: there is no meane for him betweene theſe two extremities. *Marius, Cinna, Pompey, Lepidus*, and *Anthonie* may be examples hereof. As ſoone as a man hath aſpired vnto tyranny, *aut Cæſar aut nihil*. I haue ſpoken heretofore of his meanes: they are indeede great enough in *France*, becauſe the ſide of the catholikes is great, amongſt whom he is of great credit, and his aſſurance being his chiefeſt ſtrength, that the king wil put vp al his preſumpteouſneſſe. But as for him, I doubt not, but that as his particular purpoſe tendeth to our ſtate, ſo, if he had in his cheſts the ducats of the *Indies*, he would make a breach in them, & afterward doo much harme vnto others. But he is extreme poore, and indetted, the ſeconde token of a man that commonly aſpireth vnto nouelties. Beſides that, he hath too manie that ſtand againſt his purpoſes, not only of his enimies, as the king of *Nauarre*, and the princes of the bloud: but of his owne friends, as the heires of *Spaine*, of *Lorraine*, and of *Sauoy*, and thoſe of his owne houſe, which doo pretende as much right to the vſurping of our crowne as he doth: and to the which, ſeeing hee muſt needes vſe them for his turne as he dooth, hee muſt needes likewiſe giue ſome part of his pray, if hee can praie vpon any thing: which will breede him infinite gelouſies, ſo that all the power me thinketh, of this partner can ſtretch no farther than to the diſsipation and diſmembring of our realme: yet ſhall hee bee faine to haue helpe thereto. For, that he ſhould make warre either againſt the Germaines, or Engliſhmen, he will hardly do it, or at leaſt it will neuer be, before hee hath made an end of his matters in *France*, which is a long peece of worke. And vpon that I will obſerue one moſt true qualitie of our nation: that is, that ſuch is our nature, that we can be cõtent vnder a king that is already eſtabliſhed to deuide our ſelues, we will make

ciuill warres, and vproares: but if there were none, or that we were to prouide for the Crowne, wee would neuer ſuffer the renting a ſunder of it. For if a prince ſhould not find himſelfe to ſet foot in the whole, he would hardly be ſuffered to diuide it, except he were a mightie Prince neere vnto it, as the king of *Spaine*, who by his ſtrength, and by the meanes of his Countries, might hold the part that hee had ketched vp: yet were it hard for him. Finally, I will vſe but two teſtimonies to ſhewe that this mans power, is no ſuch great matter. The one, that in the beginning of the league, when his fire was moſt kindled, when men thought that at a word of his mouth, all *France* would ſet vp their creſtes, hee neuer found himſelfe accompanied with a thouſand French horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen at the moſt: yea all thoſe vaniſhed away in one moneth, notwithſtanding, that he had prodigally ſpent all the money which hee receiued out of *Spaine*, and his owne in gathering them together. The other, that being ſince entred into the warre, a ſmall armie of reiſters, conſiſting of foure thouſande fiue hundred horſemen, and of three or foure thouſande Lanſquenets, with a fewe Switzers, did paſſe in ſpight of him through his gouernment euen to the verie heart of *France*: did beate him, and beate him againe in their paſſage, as often as they ſaw him: albeit that he had called about him all his friends, partakers, and power, and that he had beſides all this, the beſt part of the kinges: albeit likewiſe that a yeare before, he had boaſted, that he would fight with the Germaines euē vpō the Rhynes ſide, and that it ſtood him greatly vpon for his credite ſo to doo. But yet without doubt, if men ſhould ſuffer this head of a faction, to growe on, and except God had bridled him, he is the greateſt, the ableſt, and the moſt daungerous enimie, that ſuch ſtates as make profeſsion of the religion can haue.

There are yet behinde two of the worſt: to wit, the Pope, and the king of *Spaine*. The firſt is the brawlingeſt, the moſt ſeditious of all, and yet neuertheles the weakeſt. It is a common thing, *Acutum reddere qui poſsit ferrum exors ipſe ſecandi*. To ſpeake the truth, he ſerueth for nothing elſe but to edge their kniues. The Popes they cannot tell an houre before

they are, whether they ſhalbe Pope or not. Before they come to that, they are moſt commonly pettie Italian Cardinalles (for gelouſie keepeth the greateſt from it) who during the Cardinalſhip, had no farther practiſes then to catch ſome annate or benefice. Thoſe that are able to ſtirre vp coales, are not lightly preferred: *Italy* hath fared the worſe for it. Laſt of all, none can come by it without paying well for it: and they are all ſuch good husbandes as that they leaue as little as they can to their ſucceſſour: inſomuch that the newe Pope hath enough to doo for the three or foure firſt yeares to pay thoſe which haue ſolde him his See, and afterwarde to liue. And it is an extraordinarie thing when they paſſe nine or tenne yeares: elſe ſtraightwaies they ſay: *Exiit ſermo inter fratres, quod diſcipulus iſte non moritur.* For they are verie olde when they are choſen: ſo that ere they can do any harme, they are carried to their graues. And as for this man if there were no more but he, we ſhould not neede to feare anie thing elſe then Bulles and leade, which hurt none but thoſe that are afraide of them. The king of *Spaines* gold were much more to bee feared: whome I haue kept for the laſt, as the greateſt of all, and the firſt mouuer, who maketh all the others to mooue. But hee for his part hath likewiſe manie diſcommodities which bind his handes: and of this one, becauſe all *Europe* ringeth of his name, wee muſt ſay ſomewhat the more.

This Prince is ſonne to *Charles* the fift, that great troubler of the worlde, who hath toſſed all ſo much topſie turuie, ſo long as hee was in it: who was happier by the meanes of his Lieutenantes then by himſelfe: who had eyther for his friendes or for his foes at ſundrie times all the Princes of his time: a mightie Prince notwithſtanding, vigilant, a warriour, (if euer there were any) and painefull in the warres: beſides full of courteſie and humanitie, and ſuch a one as truely was woorthie of the name of *Ceſar*, and woorthie of the Empire. This fame was brought vp in affaires by his fathers, euen from his cradle: yet was he much more happie than he: and his good happe conſiſteth in this, that as long as his yeares could encourage him to great matters, hee neuer mette with any that croſſed him. His father had at one

time

time the great *Francis* of *France*, the great *Henrie* of *England*, *Solyman* in the East part, and the Princes of *Germanie*, which thoroughly exercised his witts: So that, on what side so euer he turned himselfe, hee founde businesse enough. Besides that, he found all the Countries rounde about him, as strong, and as like to set vppon him, as he vpon them. That was it, that made his fortune so diuerse. Contrariwise, *Philip* at this day king of *Spaine* hath beene fauoured with such fortune as had neuer interruption. But that is more to bee attributed, to that which fell out about him, then to himselfe. *France* in his time hath beene ruled by a woman, and by children, or so toyled by ciuill warres, that they haue alwaies founde woorke enough within themselues. *England* likewise ruled by a woman, who following the nature of her kinde, hath wisely contented her selfe with mainteining her subiectes in peace, and defending her state from her neighbours attempts, not enterprising any thing against them. *Germanie* by peaceable Princes. The East partes by *Selim* a great drunkard, who tooke pleasure in nothing but his drinke, and since by *Amorat* his sonne, halfe an Idiot, who stirreth not from the *Mosquetta*. So that wee must not say, that he had good lucke euerie where, but that hee founde no where any bodie that might breede him any euill lucke: all which notwithstanding, hee hath performed no great matters. The conquest of *Portugall* and of *India*, hath beene more easie then luckie: there was no great labour. The conquest of *Tercera*, and the victorie ouer the Frenchmen shall not seeme so strange, if wee consider that it was a whole armie of *Spaine*, against a companie of ships gathered togither in *France*. As for the battailes of *Graueline*, and of Saint *Quintin*, they were yet remnantes of his fathers victories, they were the armies that from their youth had followed the olde mans fortune, there was but little of his, his person it selfe was not there. Nothing did stirre in *Italie*, in *Burgundie*, in the kingdome of *Naples*, in *Sicilia* nothing: where contrariwise in *Affrica* hee hath lost *Gouleta*, the onely labour of *Charles* his father, and all that he had there. His victories haue not stretched so farre in *Flanders*, but that there is more behinde to doo. The reason why? because

becauſe hee hath founde there ſome reſiſtance. It is an eaſie matter for a man to winne, when no bodie plaieth againſt him. Nowe, euen now, hauing gotten enimies woorthie of his forces, wee ſhall ſee what he can doo in England with all his great preparations: wee ſhall ſee whether he ſhall keepe ſtill that renowmed great fortune. Concerning the ſtate that hee findeth himſelfe in at this time, it is ſuch. Firſt he is extreme old, and yet more broken. Hee hath but two daughters, and a yoong boy: they great ones, ambitious alreadie, and proud to the vttermoſt: the one Dutcheſſe of *Sauoy*, the other brought vp in her fathers armes, and in the affaires of his eſtate, the which ſhe alone gouerneth: his ſonne is little and ſickly, as I haue ſaide: now are theſe occaſions of diuiſions. For in *Spaine* the daughters may ſucceede. Beſides that, his ſtate is much diuided. The lowe Countries, which were his beſt meſſe, are farre ſcattered from him. All that which is cut off from him, as the Prouinces which are vnited with the Queene of England, he can ſee no hope euer to recouer. That which the Prince of *Parma* holdeth vnder his authoritie, he ſcarſe aſſureth himſelfe, that after his death he will faithfully ſurrender it vnto his children. The other is a braue Prince, a great Captaine, beloued of thoſe ouer whom he commandeth, eſteemed of the others as I haue ſaid, who hath vſed great moderation, and obſerued his faith to his people, that are alreadie highly pleaſed with that manner of gouernment, which his mother had vſed before him: who hath purchaſed great credite amongeſt them, and that enough, to make him hereafter able to keepe this portion in ſtead of *Portugall*, which to his iudgement the king of *Spaine* hath taken from him: and who howſoeuer it be, will be grieued that all his labours ſhould be dedicated to a maid, or to a little boy. The Dutchie of *Mylan* is neare vnto the Duke of *Sauoy*: hee wil pretend right vnto it, in the behalfe of his wife, and according to his contract of marriage? The kingdome of *Naples*, and the townes of *Italie* will follow the fortune of the Dutchie of *Mylan*. *Portugall* is hee as yet ſcarce aſſured of: the *Portugalles* greeued that *Spaniards* ſhould rule ouer thē, as much the more their enimies as they are neerer vnto them, as it is an ordinarie thing to all people. The

Indies

Indies as well the *Portingalles* as the Spaniſh ones, the onelie ſinnew of this ſtate, will belong vnto him that ſhall poſſeſſe either *Portugall* or *Spaine*. The caſe thus ſtanding, this Prince hath henceforth more neede to thinke vpon the preſeruation of his houſe, and his Lordſhips (which doubtleſſe are like to be deuided after his death) then to trouble his neighbours. To ſpeake the trueth, hee is rich: but hee is at infinite charges, ſcarſe hauing any countrie where hee is not forced to keepe a great garriſon. That he ſtandeth in neede, he maketh it knowne ſufficiently to the troupes which hee keepeth in *Flanders*, where he is ſometimes a yeare or eighteene monethes without giuing them a pennie. As hee is rich of money, ſo hee is poore of men: hee can get none but onely out of *Germanie*, out of *Spaine*, out of *Italie*, or out of *Burgundie*. Now therefore marke his weakeneſſe. As touching the *Germaines*, if wee were all vnited togither, wee would keep him either from raiſing vp any, or frō bringing through any, the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, of whome he can furniſh no great number, (for they are no populous countries, as euerie man knoweth.) Before they can come to deale either with *France*, the low countries, or *Germanie*, the places where wee are, he muſt leade them either by ſea, or through ſuch hard waies, that if we were all of one minde, hee ſhould looſe halfe of them before they were able to doo him anie ſeruice. The *Spaniards* cannot come but either by ſea, or ouer the mounts Pyrenees: The *Italians* ouer the Alpes, or thorough *Germanie*: ſuch wayes, as if wee would we might ſtop them all. Laſt of all, there is nothing more wretched than himſelfe in his owne countrie, nothing ſo eaſie to bee beaten. And it is moſt ſure that hee might eaſily haue beene ouerthrowne by *Portugall*, if he had beene liuely ſet vpon that way, ſince *Don Antonio* was driuen out of it. Thus haue you briefly the ſtate which the mightieſt of our enimies is in. Which to my iudgement, being well conſidered, ought not to ſeeme ſo mightie, as hee is eſteemed. The effectes withall and example doo declare it: Seeing that in twentie yeares, that he hath imployed to conquere *Flanders* againe, the onely place where he hath employed all his power, he hath not profited much: yet can it not be ſaide that hee hath founde

there any resistance woorthie of him: notwithstanding it is euident, that, had it not beene for the late Mounsieurs euill rule, and the Prince of *Oranges* death, most wretchedly murthered, a manifest token of this enimies weakenes, hee was almost driuen to dispaire, and had lost all these Countries, without anie remission, whatsoeuer hee could haue doone.

When our enimies state shall thus be considered one by one, it shall bee founde according to the common saying, *That all is not golde that glistereth.* But if they bee yet nearer obserued in grosse, it will stande well with that iudgement which I giue of them. They shall be all founde farre distant in places and Countries. The greatest and strongest part is in *Spaine*, and *Italie*: yet they bee distant foure hundreth Leagues by lande: the other is in *France*, but it is such a small thing, that if the power of *Spaine* and *Italie* shoulde not ioyne together to helpe it, it woulde bee soone smothered vp. Wee shall see that each of these partakers, which enter into this generall League, doo bring but the least part of their wishes vnto the generall intent, all the rest beeing for their owne particular, wee shall finde that the most of them tende in manner to one thing: the king of *Spaine*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, of *Sauoy*, and of *Guize*, to the Crowne of *France*. Wherein, it cannot be chosen but that there be some gelousies, and that the same thing which vniteth them, seuereth them againe. We shall see also, that they haue contrarie purposes one to another, as those which I haue obserued of the Duke of *Parma*, and the Duke of *Sauoy*. And in fine, wee shall marke that of the two last, viz. the King of *Spaine* & the *Pope*, who are as it were the pillers of this league: the one is extreme old and so sicke, that euen this yeare hee hath giuen ouer all manner of businesse: yea so farre foorth, that manie are of opinion that age hath bereaued him of his senses. The other, which is the Pope, can make no reckoning of his power, but so long as hee shall liue: and considering his age, hee cannot liue long, leauing perchaunce such a successour as will rather busie himselfe to builde vp his owne house, then to pull downe another mans: that wil rather deuise new practises, then follow his Predecessors.

Thus

Thus haue you by whole and piecemeale ſeene all our enimies forces. Now if againſt their generall meanes we oppoſe ours generally: if wee gather together thoſe of the Queene of *England*: of the king of *Nauarre*: of the king of *Denmarke*: of the Princes of *Germanie*: of the ſtates of the lowe countries and of the Cantons of *Switzerlande*, what a power ſhall we finde? If we vſe ours againſt them, by reaſon of the commoditie we haue, to ioyne our ſelues without any let, *France*, *England*, *Germanie*, both high and low, and *Switzerlande*, ioyning one to an other, ſhall we not ſooner ouerthrow all their practiſes, than they can take them in hand? We I ſay whom our religion may knit ſurer togither then them, as beeing better than theirs: wee that haue no other purpoſe but to defend our ſelues and maintaine our rightes, which vnited vs togither: who haue no particular intent that might breed any gelouſie amongſt vs, or beeing contrarie might diuide vs. There is no doubt of it: let vs then ſee the proofe. It is three yeares agone, ſince the king of *Spaine* cut downe all the Foreſtes of *Italy* to builde his *Carraques*: buyeth all the moores of *Affrica*, to make Galley ſlaues: turneth the *Indies* vpſide downe, with digging and ſeeking to finde out all the Goldmines, as though he had no more to do hereafter. It is three yeares agone ſince he had no other ſpeech but of Ankers, of Cables, of ropes and ſayles: ſince hee threatneth the Ocean, if it doth not vſe his ſhippes gently: ſince that hee chargeth the windes to fauour them, and all this to make vp a mightie and ſpaniſh (that is to ſay) proud armie by ſea, whoſe ſhadowe alone may cauſe not onely the maſts of ſhips, but alſo all the toppes of the ſteeples of England to ſtoope. For theſe three yeres ſpace he is with child of an armie. And to ſpeake the truth, as theſe great peeces of worke are not ſoone brought foorth, nor with eaſe, ſo he beſtoweth much time & labour to be deliuered of it: but things commonly are leſſer at their birth then men thinke of. Then in the end it ſhall be borne in *Biſcay*, weaned at Conquet, and finding it ſelfe right againſt Englande, it ſhall haue ſtrength and ſtature enough to receiue the order of knighthood. Doth not this proue, that in one only place, viz. Englande we are able to reſiſt the moſt dangers of our enimies?

It is three yeares since hee threatned it, hee hath not yet so much as made it afraid: Tush, when will he be able to hurt it? It is as long since the Duke of *Guize* (who in a maner plaieth with the king and the realme of *France*, his power being holpen with money out of *Spaine*, with the forces of the Prince of *Parma*, and all the Catholike States) maketh warre against the king of *Navarre*: in which space there hath beene eight armies by land leuied to that purpose, and the ninth by seas. Of nine of them thankes be to God, eight are gone backe againe without doing any thing: the ninth hath been quite ouerthrowē in a battaile. Now, if it can not be said that this poore Prince was in the meane while alsisted eyther with one pennie or one man, the money & helpes which his friends had sent him, being not yet come as far as vnto him, is it not a certaine proofe that this people hath more facing than doings. It is twenty yeares since that the low countries are set vpō by the same king of *Spaine*, with all the forces that he could make out of his countrie out of *Italy*, and all those that he could get out of *Germany*. He hath bin alwaies fortunate in it. Almost all the battailes that haue bin fought there he hath wonne. What hath he done. They are yet at this day in such a case, as if they can once haue good correspondence one with an other, he is to begin of new, & in danger of loosing his labor, his paines, & his charges that he hath laid out in that country. Iudge you now, if so it were that the king of *Denmark*, the Princes of *Germany*, & the Cantons of the *Switzers*, which they durst not meddle withall, had brought their helpes & forces to make these violent dealings of the king of *Spaine* in *Flanders* and *England* to cease, and those of *Guize* in *France*: how long to mans iudgemēt, were they able to stand before vs? I leaue more to conclude hereupon, that I speake not of. In the mean while, although we haue mo forces then they, that we haue better meanes of intelligence one with an other, yet doo they agree better one with an other then we do, & are stronger than we are. Let vs returne that reproch vnto our negligence: and not attribute it vnto their industrie: to our base minds and not to their courage. God hath put into our handes the meanes both to liue at rest & to defend our selues frō their tyranny: yea & to bring them vnder the

the yoke, if wee would ſo doo. But to make an end of this ſpeech diuine like, euen as I haue begun it, I beleeue that it is the ſame God, and the ſame Lorde, who will not haue vs to hold our deliuerance as from our ſelues, neither from our owne arme, but from him alone.

Mee thinketh that my minde is nowe much eaſed, when that after I haue runne ouer all *Europe*, which is altogether almoſt troubled and afflicted with diſſentions in religion, I returne vnto *France*, which I thought onely to haue beene plagued with this euill. God viſiteth not it onely, neither is it alone threatned: other places haue their part. I returne then to her againe better ſatiſfied then I was, to conclude this diſcourſe which I began for her ſake. This viſarde, this vaile, which had bleared vp firſt the kings eies, and after him all the Frenchmens, is at length pulled away. When the league began firſt, three yeares agone, there were men yet that were either ſo without ſhame, or without ſenſe, as that they excuſed this rebelling, they ſhadowed it with a zeale of religion, with a care, leaſt that after a good catholike king, there ſhould ſucceede him a Huguenet. This ſerued the traitors pretence that were about the Prince, whom they knew ſo dedicated and paſsionate towards his owne religion, that euen with this worde they ſtopped his mouth, they tooke away from him all manner of replying together with all the meanes that he might vſe to iudge what he had to do about this matter. But nowe, I do not thinke that there is any bodie in all the realme, nay not the verieſt *Ieſuite*, that could excuſe the Duke of *Guizes* attempt at *Paris*, againſt his owne king. What a maner of one it was, I deſire no other diſcourſe then his owne, the very ſame which he hath publiſhed. Now if one ſhould aske what, in my minde will enſue vpon it? hee ſhould trouble me ſhrewdly. I haue ſaide elſewhere, that nothing is more dangerous for a king, then the empairing of his Maieſtie: that there is nothing which diminiſheth it more, then if hee ſhewe, that hee feareth ſome bodie in his realme: it is a kinde of feare, to ſuffer preſumpteouſnes, and not puniſh it: Yet when it is but a common preſumption which concerneth particular ones, the cloke of gentle clemencie ſometimes doth excuſe timorouſneſſe: but if it bee

towards the Prince himſelf, if it doth violate the holy reſpect which men owe to the ſacred perſon of the king: whoſoeuer ſuffreth them, is no longer king. If this vnexcuſable trecherie be pardoned, if the king letteth it ſlippe vnder ſilence, it may be well ſaid, *Sceleris finem putas? gradus eſt.* And there is no doubt but that within theſe two yeares there will be ſuch bold and villanous actions committed, as that this ſhall bee counted but for a light tricke of youth. I am of the reformed religion, thankes be to God, who hath vouchſafed to make me ſuch an one: me, I ſay, who through the forgetfulneſſe of his great benefites, had made my ſelfe altogether vnworthie of this latter one, which is not to be compared with any other: neuertheleſſe, if ſo it were that the king ſhould thinke that the king of *Nauarre* and wee with him had attempted ſuch treacherous and deteſtable practiſes againſt his life, and eſtate, that with good conſcience hee might not pardon vs. God forbid, that vnder pretence of this quarrell I ſhoulde counſell him to call vs to him, to forget our offences, and to vſe our helpe to bring him out of thoſe troubles, whereinto hee is put daylie by his owne folkes. But not as a Frenchman, not as a Chriſtiã, but as a man, I dare wel counſel him. What, counſaile him? nay prophecie, that if this argument of the wrath of God againſt him, doth not ſtirre him vp to wiſh his owne good, and with his owne good, the quietneſſe of this realme: the way of peace: the meanes to become a king: to take away all part takings out of his realme, except his owne: and as the Scepter belongeth to none but himſelfe, not to ſuffer it to bee broken in peeces, and euerie one moſt vnwoorthilie to carrie away a morſell of it, himſelfe being the firſt, and moſt true cauſe of his miſchiefe, let him bee aſſured, that in ſteede of taking it away from him, God will encreaſe it double folde vnto him. I will not only ſpeake of thoſe of the league. I doo yet ſpeake of our ſelues. That which others do through wickednes, we do it by neceſſitie: yet notwithſtãding al is a like to him in regard of his crown: it is as well ſpoyled, and pulled a ſunder by the one as by the other: his people as much troden downe by vs as by the league. And were it not that we defend our ſelues, wher they ſet vppon vs: that where wee are purſued, they purſue: that

where

where wee ſubmit alwaies our ſelues vnto him, the others would ſubmit him vnto them: it might be well ſaid, that the harme which we doo perforce vnto his realme, is as great as that which they doo for their pleaſure, and to ſatisfie their ambition. For this euill, alas, there is but one remedie: let him onely take vpon him to remedie it, hee may be a peaceable and abſolute king, obeyed, feared, beloued, dreadfull, if he liſt. But what do we wiſh that God ſhould put the power into his handes, except firſt hee hath the will in his heart? Mightie Prince, why dooſt thou not beleeue thy ſelfe? thou haſt not ſo faithfull a counſailour. I haue heard thee heeretofore blame the king of *Portugals* fault, who aduentured all his ſtate vppon one battaile: as iudging wiſely, that there is nothing more miſerable then a diſherited Prince. Oh! where haſt thou laide vp thy wiſedome? thou ventureſt thy ſelfe vppon leſſe a hundreth times then a battaile. Who hath bin able to perſwade thee, that theſe men who haue no other deſire then thy death, no other ſcope then thy crowne, will lay downe their weapons which they haue vowed againſt thee onely, when they ſee thee bitterly bent, and verie cruel againſt thoſe of the religion? No no, thou muſt giue ouer thy crowne, elſe thou ſhalt neuer haue peace with them: and I beleeue if thou couldeſt giue it ouer without danger of thy life withall, thou haſt enough about thee that haue ſuch braſen faces, as to counſell thee thereto. They haue driuen thee out of *Paris* which neuer the Engliſhmen, the Spaniards, nor the Germaines did thy great grandfathers: yet by thy letters patents thou ſheweſt vnto thy people, that in ſtead of reuenging thy ſelfe of it, it ſeemeth thou thinkeſt it verie long, vntil they haue pardoned thee. Thou commãdeſt thẽ to pray to God for this reconcilement: there is then belike no other dãger to lift vp any mans hand againſt his king. Beleeue thẽ, that he that durſt to day make thee flie, wil dare to kil thee to morrow. But is not this, oh mightie king, an aduenturing of thy ſelfe, when thou letteſt thy ſubiects perceiue that it is ſo eaſie a matter to attẽpt againſt thee: whẽ in ſtead of reuẽging thy ſelfe, thou praieſt that thoſe may be pacified, whom thou oughteſt to haue puniſhed? Who could ſo miſchieuouſly perſwade thee that the remedy of thy miſchief was the ciuil war?

that

that by that course thou shouldest recouer thine authoritie ouer thy subiects. Alas! how art thou deceiued? There is nothing more dangerous in a building then fire: in a bodie, then a continuall feuer; and in a state, then a ciuill warre. If thou wilt remedie these euils, quench the fire which burneth thy house: asswage the continuall feuer of the bodie of thy estate, giue it peace. For that is the onely meane to preserue thy realme. Thou saist that if thou shouldest but pronounce this worde of peace to them of the religion, thou shouldest haue presently vppon it all the catholike armies of Christendome against thee, which wil spoile thee of thy state. Yea if thou pronouncest it as hee that latelie fled away from *Paris*, before the duke of *Guize*. But pronounce it as he that wanne the battailes of *Iarnac* and *Moncontour*, who alone wert more dreadfull then all the rest of thine armie: vtter it onely after that sort, that thou shalt finde all men to tremble.

If vpon this good and holie resolution, thou wilt arme thy selfe, *England*, *Germanie*, & *Switzerland* will couer all thy plaines with horse and armed men, for thy seruice. They will send thee sufficient forces to beate *Spaine* and *Italie*, yea and thy *France*, if it were ioyned with them. Thinke thou that this will be first the benefit of thy realme, and it will be easie afterward so to perswade thy people, when thy selfe shalt beleiue it. And thy people, if thou bee willing of it, they will account all such as shall wish the contrarie to bee their enimies and thine. But thou feareſt the league: Who then shall bee bolde for thee: whence shall wee take courage but from thine. Grant a reasonable peace and quietnesse vnto thy subiectes, begin with thine owne first: with the catholikes, make them to bee content with reason, and feare not then but the rest wil be brought to it: they are too weake to stand against thee in an euill cause. Such a one will theirs be if they refuse an indifferent peace: but they will not doo so: they neuer did it. It is too common a prouerbe in thy court. *Let them be pleased with a sermon.* Thou art yet afraide: good Lord of whom? of the king of *Spaine*? Shew him the pictures of thy father, and thy grandfather, and he will tremble euen to the fartheſt of *Castile*. Of the Pope? Hast thou not yet about thee some heires of *Charles* of *Bourbon*? these are but toies.

toies. How can it bee poſsible, that thou who haſt ſeene ſo much, who haſt handled ſo many matters, who haſt ſo great experience, canſt haue this apprehenſion engraued ſo deepe within thee, and vppon ſo ſmall an occaſion? Beleeue theſe two principles: the one, that thy enimies haue their beſt friende of thee: the other, that if it were not for that blacke cloud which thou ſeeſt about *Rochell*, which they feare more than thee, they would haue buried thee long agone: but yet adde this third alſo, and beleeue it, that whenſoeuer thou ſhalt earneſtly wiſh the good and reſt of thine eſtate, it ſhall lie in thy power to be maſter, to bring as well the one as the other ſo farre vnder, in reſpect of thy obedience, and thy place, that they ſhall not be able to turne an Egge, without thy leaue. They perſwade thee, that the ſtrongeſt ſide is the catholikes, and that thou muſt needs ground thy ſelfe verie deepe therein, and become chiefe of it, to take away this title from the Duke of *Guize*. They perſwade thee, but they deceiue thee. The parties ought not to receiue thee, neither thou to go vnto them. They ought to come to thee, & thou to receiue them. To be a king is thy part: thou haſt no need of any other: let all the reſt yeeld vnto this. What meaneth this? that a king of *France* ſhoulde enter into gelouſie with a Duke of *Guize*, that he ſhould be put in danger of looſing his credit by his meanes. Doeſt thou not know that this gelouſie maketh thee equal? and preſently being equal, inferiour? well may there be ſteps to clime vp to a crowne, but there is none to come downe: it is a downe right fal. If a king come neuer ſo little downeward, he falleth down right. They counſell thee to feigne thy ſelfe ſore angred againſt vs: after thou haſt feigned a while, thou becommeſt ſo in earneſt. They yet deceiue thee more, and were it not for thy affection to thy religion, thou mighteſt iudge eaſily of it. Aſſure thy ſelfe that this D. which becommeth ſo mightie in thy realme, keepeth to no otherend the beſt part of that which he hath with him, but onely becauſe it is to thy ſelfe that he hath a meaning to. Dooſt thou thinke that thoſe which ſerue him haue no other ſcope then the deſtruction of the *Huguonets*? No, no. What is there to be gotten againſt them? If I had giuen my ſelfe ouer to follow him, for my part I would thinke to haue done it, in

reſpect of his hope to be king one day. For that he ſhould be thought well of in reſpect of his zeale towards his catholike religion, in putting manie Huguonets to death, it will ſerue to raiſe vp all the porters of *Paris*, and make them crie: *Haue amongſt the Huguonets*. Thoſe which are ſufficient to helpe him to turne vp a realme, haue other conſiderations then that. Now theſe conſiderations are not put out of their heads, by thy fierce countenance againſt thoſe of their religion, and thy quaking lookes towards the league. This is contrariwiſe, the way to encreaſe them, their helpes, their ſeruants, and their authoritie. When men ſee, that thou ſheweſt, that thou art thy ſelfe afraide of them: who then ſhall not feare them? What emboldeneth men, but impunitie? Of nature wee loue to be at libertie. There was neuer any realme but that it did ſtriue to become, if it were poſsible, a popular eſtate. There is nothing that a prince ought to keepe more preciouſly then his reſpect, his maieſtie, and his feare: which being once loſt, can neuer bee recouered, but onely by ſuch things as breed feare, that is to ſay, by violence and crueltie. Mightie king, thou ſhalt accept this ſpeech as it ſhall pleaſe thee: it belongeth not to mee to limit thy purpoſes. But if thou readeſt it with as much paſsion for thine owne good, as I write it, thou ſhalt thinke, if any too violent a word dooth eſcape me, yea againſt thee, that it is the verie indignation and hart burning that forceth mee vnto it, when I ſee the wrong and iniuries that are done vnto thee: to the which it ſeemeth after a manner, thou dooſt conſent by thy patience. Do not thinke that I did meane to accuſe the courage which is in thy ſelfe: all *Europe* woulde giue me the lie: and if thou wouldeſt haue any witneſſes of it, thou ſhouldeſt neede none but our ſelues (whome thou haſt beaten ſo often) to ſpeake of it. Verelie beleeue, that the griefe which I conceiue to ſee thee ſuffer through euill counſaile, thoſe bolde partes which are onelie attempted vppon confidence that thou wilt ſuffer them, doo wreſt this both out of my heart and my penne. I knowe that all thoſe which are about thee, haue hitherto betraied thee: that that which thou haſt done againſt thy ſelfe, thou haſt done it by taking that counſell, where by contrariwiſe other princes do moſt commonly erre, that is,

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by beleeuing of counſaile. I was preſent when it was tolde thee, that all thy townes, all thy people, all thy prouinces were alreadie the duke of *Guizes*, all thy men were his. They told thee it, but none other then themſelues that tolde thee it, were belonging vnto him: and they did tell thee it to no other end, but onely to ſell thee, and betray thee vnto him. The ſtrongeſt armies of the league which are againſt thee, haue beene in thy court, in thy counſell, in thy priuie chamber. So that it was verie hard but that thou ſhouldeſt be hindered by ſo many thinges contrarie to thy good purpoſes. But ſeeing that God in this laſt danger where into hee had brought thee, hath takē away al excuſe, & occaſion of doubt, let this at the leaſt giue thee a mind to loue thine owne ſelfe more thē thou haſt done: to will earneſtly thy own good, thy reſt, thy highneſſe: and when thou ſhalt wiſh it, thou ſhalt by conſequent, wiſh thy realmes withall.

I wil end in thee, thou firebrand of the war, which haſt turned to the deſtruction of thy king and countrie, thoſe great graces which God had giuē thee, for to haue bin able to haue done worthie ſeruice as well to the one, as the other. Dooſt thou not thinke to bee puniſhed one day for the parricide which thou cōmitteſt againſt thine own mother, for ſo many euils that thou art cauſe of, or which thou doſt thy ſelf to her, who hath done thee ſo much good? ſo many euils I ſay, the which thou mighteſt haue remedied, either by deſiring leſſe, or by deſiring more wiſely, or at leaſt, by bringing in thy deſires at length into ſome cōpaſſe? Nay, nay: thou needeſt no other puniſhment thē thine own practiſes. They are thy torment. Poore ſoule, thou art almoſt forty yeres old, & yet dareſt thou not take vpō thee the name of a king: whē wilt thou bring it to paſſe? Thinkeſt thou to make eaſily an end of thoſe which can barre thee from thy vaine hope? For theſe thirtie yeares, men haue loſt their labor in making war againſt thē. I wil abate thee ten vpon the bargaine, thou haſt yet twentie left. What a king art thou like to be at thoſe yeres end, being 60. yeares old? Thou haſt bin heard ſcoffing at the cardinall of *Bourbon*, whom thou hadſt perſwaded to haue been one at that age: ſcarce wilt thou come ſooner to it, & yet muſt many things come well to paſſe for thee. Thou wilt ouerthrow the

king of *Nauarre* (a vaine labour, I am ſure both for thee and thy children) dreame rather to ſaue thy ſelfe from him: his clawes are greater than thine: but I grant it, thou ſhalt ouerthrow him: and it were ſo, how wilt thou do to raigne? If after his ouerthrow *France* lyeth open to the ſpoyle, as it can hardly chooſe: art thou ſtronger then the king of *Spaine*? haſt thou more right than he hath? More than the Duke of *Sauoy*, who is ſonne vnto a daughter of *France*, and nearer of bloud than thou, & is married alſo vnto a daughters daughter of *France*? More than the Duke of *Lorraines* ſonne thine elder, the ſonne likewiſe of a daughter of *France*, and the kings Nephew. If contrariwiſe the eſtate be kept whole and ſound, howe wilt thou lawfullie take away the right from the Catholike Princes of the bloud which ſhalbe remaining, who are yet in number enough, and young enough to liue as long as thou, except thou ſhorteſt their liues? Moreouer, before all this commeth to paſſe, who can perſwade thee, that the king who reigneth now, will not keepe thee from reigning? thou canſt not ſo long as hee ſhall liue: thy firſt blowes muſt beginne with him (that canſt thou do well enough) thou muſt make him awaie: for he hindreth thee tenne thouſand times more than the king of *Nauarre*: and except this bee thy firſt intent, thou haſt no iudgement in thy practiſes. For thou canſt not poſsibly, whileſt he is aliue, bee a king, neither continue long ſo, in taking the courſe that thou dooeſt: but thou purpoſeſt to reigne. What then poore wretch, except this bee it that driueth thee on? except ſome great and mightie ambition dooth puffe vp thy minde, ſuch a one as ſometimes poſſeſſed either *Marius*, *Sylla*, or *Caſar*, thou ſhouldeſt be accurſed enough heereafter, for hauing wrought ſo much miſchiefe in the worlde to no ende. Ambition is the plague of humaine ſocietie: notwithſtanding, it hath alwayes moſt glorioufſlie ſet foorth by manie and woorthie deedes all ſuch as haue beene poſſeſſed with all. Let vs blame ambitious men, yet doo wee admire them. If thou canſt beare ſo woorthie a minde, as to looke for a kingdome, there will bee found heereafter ſome bodie that will ſaie, that thou wert woorthie to haue beene borne a king, ſith thou couldeſt vndertake

dertake to haue beene one. Such miſchiques and calamities as thou muſt needes breede, to bring it to paſſe, ſhall not be paraduenture imputed vnto thee: but it ſhall be ſaid, that fortune would by theſe meanes make thy comming notorious, that thou wert too great to come foorth by an ordinarie gate, and that thou muſt needes haue ruines to receiue the and make thee roome. *Nec aliam venturo fata Neroni inuenêre viam.* Thou ſhalt alſo be found fault withall: but many that ſhall finde fault with thee will wiſh to be like vnto thee: otherwiſe thou wretch, if vpõ a villainous mind thou haſt no other end of the euill which thou doeſt, then to hinder the beneſite and quietneſſe of all the world, what will our poſteritie ſay of thee? who amongeſt them will not call thee the ſcourge of our age? But ſeeing thou canſt not be king, thou haſt no minde to be it: it is enough for thee to trouble and diuide our eſtate, to the end thou maiſt keepe the better part for thy ſelfe. Thou ſheweſt thy ſelfe yet more wretched. Had not God endued thee with ſufficient vertue for to deſerue an honorable portion at their handes, to whom all by right doth belong, who would haue beene alwaies ſo glad to haue thee about them as their kinſman, as thou art: and in ſteede of a good and profitable ſeruant as thou mighteſt haue bin? Hadſt thou not rather haue beene beholding to thy Prince for thy good, in beſtowing thy ſeruice vppon thy countrie, then to a forraine Prince in ouerthrowing it quite. Marke what thou doeſt: thy father, and thy grandfather haue allotted vnto the king of *Spaine*, his part in *Italy*: and thou wouldeſt allot him it in *France*: *Sic ne patriſſas?* Yet is not this all? What then? The onely zeale vnto the catholike religion doth kindle thy heart? Thou ſaieſt it (I beleeue) in the face of the world, not in thy Cloſet: nay I am afraid, except thou vſeſt ſhortly other maner of termes, leaſt thou repenteſt to haue driuen thy king out of *Paris*. He is not an heretike, no: but he is a king. Whoſoeuer ſhall be it, either in deede, or poſsibilitie, he is thine enimie. Thou wilt make it knowen at length, that it is onely for that that thou medleſt with the king of *Nauarre*, and that thou art more gelous ouer his poſsibilitie then his conſcience: I beleeue it well. And if ſo be it were that he would ſuffer thee to be king, thou wouldſt

easily grant him to be a Hugnonet. It is thy zeale vnto religion: good Lorde! What, to encrease it? There are yet so manie Turkes and Sarrasins alive which keepe from thee thy kingdome of *Ierusalem*, belonging by inheritance to thy house: why doest thou not rather bende thy practises that way, then vpon the realme of *France*? To defende it? Tush, who dealeth with it? who durst say any thing against the Catholikes? My opinion then is, that thou shouldest perswade vs that thewolues ought to take heede least the sheepe might surprise them, that Lions were best to mistrust the Deere. Thou saiest the verye same. Where there is one of the religion in *France*, there are a hundred Catholikes. If the king of *Nauarre* should take that course, as to persecute them during the kings life, he should be euill handled: if after he should be worse receiued. Nay, alledge not these excuses: men laugh at them. Say onely that thou wouldest reigne, thou wouldest be king: it is the trueest and the best colour of thy Ensigne.

I will conclude at length, and in two or three wordes aunswere those Letters which thou hast spred abroad. Thou publishest first that thou wert the onelie man that diddest set forwarde the voyage of *Guyenne*, (*Id est*, against the king of *Nauarre*) to the which thou hast such a minde. But what needest thou to stirre vp an other? Why goest not thou thy selfe? Seeke out there either a victorie or an honorable death, as the Duke of *Ioyeuse* did. Make offer vnto the king to go in thine owne person. Hee will take thee at thy woorde: carrie thither all thy friendes, all thy forces, he will encrease them with his owne. Carrie thither the fire of war, seeing it is there that thou shouldest finde thine enimies, and thou shalt finde them in deede. Why doest thou kindle it in *Pycardie*? is there any heretikes also there? I would to God that *Calis* and *Bulloine* were as well minded towardes the king of *Nauarre*, as thou chargest them to be: thou shouldest bee kept well enough from quarrelling at *Paris*. Thou shouldest haue leasure enough to enclose thy selfe within *Challons*, and thinke vpon nothing else but thine owne defence. This is the matter. Thou wouldest that the king should leaue in thy handes the protection of *France*, and that

that hee ſhould goe and make warre in thy quarrell in *Guienne*, that hee ſhoulde ouerthrowe thine enimie the king of *Nauarre*, that hee ſhoulde giue order vnto thy affaires, to the ende, that whileſt hee ſhoulde there buſie himſelfe about the beating of ſome ſconce, thou mighteſt heere take ſome good towne from him: and vppon condition, that whenſoeuer hee would returne, he ſhould giue thee roome, as often as it ſhoulde pleaſe thee. I grant thee it: it is well and wiſely conſidered of thee: but yet is hee wiſer than thou art, in that hee will not doo ſo. Thou ſaieſt that the Duke of *Eſpernon* fauoureth the Heretikes: all thoſe that barre thee from beeing king are Heretikes, according vnto thy reckoning: or at leaſt, they fauour them. There will be then enough in the worlde, if God will. Thinke this to bee moſt ſure, that if that man woulde haue had but the leaſt intelligence of the worlde with the King of *Nauarre*, if hee had put into his hands euen the leaſt of thoſe townes which hee had in his power, or holpen him neuer ſo little with that commoditie of money that hee might haue hadde, there had not beene roome enough in *France* to haue hidden thee: thou ſhouldeſt haue beene vndoone alreadie, I ſaie quite vndoone. Giue him thankes for thy preſeruation, which his fidelitie hath purchaſed thee, to his owne coſt and his maſters. He is come, ſaieſt thou, to ſeeke quarrelles in *Pycardie*, and in *Normandie*. What part haſt thou in theſe two Prouinces? Of the one, my late lorde the Prince of *Conde* was gouernour: in his abſence, there were Lieutenants from the king: of the other, the Duke of *Ioyeuſe* was the like. Neither thou, nor any of thy kindred haue anie right vnto it.

But ſoft, I muſt needes excuſe thee: thou wouldeſt reigne: all is lawfull for thee. Thou dooeſt complaine moreouer, that there haue beene ſlanders ſpredde abroade againſt thee, and thine honour, the which (thankes bee to God) thou haſt blotted out by this latter facte of thine. Thou art a maruellous Oratour: ſurely it is true, thou haſt well cleared thy ſelfe. Thou wert accuſed to haue ſtirred vp the people of certaine townes of this Realme, againſt ſuch gouernours as the king would haue appointed. Thou

haſt

haſt taken this ſlander away, in raiſing vp them of *Paris* againſt the king himſelfe. Thou wert blamed to haue ſeiſed vpon his money at *Challons*, at *Rheymes*, at *Soyſſons*, and euerie where that thou ſetſt thy foote. Thou haſt purged thy ſelf in taking that of his owne ſtore in his chiefe towne. Thou wert ſuſpected to haue certaine enterpriſes againſt the ſtate, and to aſpire vnto the crowne, & that to that purpoſe thou hadſt alreadie ſeiſed on ſome good townes, which either thou or thy parents did hold, to the which the king woulde not haue obeyed. Thou haſt put away this falſe report by thy perſonall comming to make thy ſelfe maſter of *Paris*, and driuing out of the king, after thou hadſt forced, killed, and vnarmed his guard, and cauſed the common people to riſe in armes againſt him. So that after this ſort thou gallantly wipeſt away a theft with a ſacrilege; a murder with a parricide: a ſinne with a crime. Thy ſubtletie is too groſſe. Thou triumpheſt, that thou durſt come with eight Gentlemen into *Paris*, a token of thy pure innocency. Theſe be great news. Be thou in *Rochell* with all thy new court, all thy traine, and all thy guard: the king of *Nauarre* will come in with foure men, and if going away thou doeſt not flie, hee will trouble thee. This is eaſie to be ſaid in *Britaine*: but thoſe that know that all the kinges councell ſtand for thee, that his mother fauoureth thee, that all the pickquarrels, all the porters of *Paris*, and all the common people are at thy becke: they will ſay that thy ſimplicitie was verie craftie, thy innocencie much ſuſpected. How wilt thou haue vs to beleeue that thou haſt truſted ſo gently vnto the king, ſeeing that after the League was made, when you made your worthie agreement at S. *Mor*, thou wouldeſt neuer come to him before that thou wert as ſtrong as hee, ſeeing that whileſt hee hath beene in his armie againſt the Reyters, thou neuer haſt ſet thy foote towards him, ſauing once when thou diddeſt ſurpriſe him, and that but a quarter of an houre. Nay, beleeue mee: it is thy occupation to worke ſuch feates, but not to excuſe them: thou canſt better doo the one then the other. It is plaine enough, ſeeing thou vaunteſt thy ſelfe, that thou mighteſt haue retained thy king, againſt his will. Ah, what ſaieſt thou, thou ſtranger? retaine a king of *France*? It is all

that

that *Europe* being confederated were able to doo: it is the enterprise of an Emperour, yet a verie dangerous one. If thy Grandfather had thought, that thou wouldest euer haue pronounced these words, he would haue smothered vp thy father, to let thee from comming into the world: in a peaceable estate, in a quiet realme, that worde onely would haue cost thee thy head. That is likewise the reason why thou troublest it.

As for the rest of thy publike letter, all the wordes of it are too plaine, too well set downe to be found fault withall. Whilest thou makest a discourse of thy valour, they shewe what is thine intent better than any man can do. I will onely note the end of it, where thou saiest, that thou hast seised vpon the *Bastille*, the *Arsenall*, and other publike places, the kinges Coffers and Exchequor, to surrender all againe into his Maiesties handes well pacified, as thou hopest to bring to passe by the Popes intercession, and other the Princes of Christendome: if not, with the same helpes thou wilt trie to reskue the Catholikes out from the persecution of those that are about him, and fauour the heretikes. What a braue dilemma is this. I beleeue, thou meanest not by pacified, peaceable or appeased, but in such state as that he be not able to make warre against thee: which thou hopest to procure by the forces and helpes of *Spaine*, and *Italie*: that is the intercession which thou meanest. And in fine, thou meane and simple subiect denouncest war against thy king. Others endure it, thou beginnest it. If the late Emperor had but said so much to his father, all Christendome woulde haue beene vp in armes, both of one side, and other, vpon this worde. If God also stirre vp his heart, I hope it will be thy last.

A declaration of the Kinges pleasure, published after his departure from Paris: importing the cause of his sudden and forced going away.

TRustie and welbeloued. Beeing in our towne of *Paris*, where we bent our onelie cogitations to no other thing but the appeasing of all sortes of ielousies and distur-

bances in *Pycardie* & elſe where, which hindered our iourney into our countrie of *Poictou*, there to proſecute the wars enterpriſed againſt the *Hugonets*, according as we had reſolued; our coſen the Duke of *Guize*, vnwares to vs, did there arriue the 9. of this moneth. His comming after that ſort ſo encreaſed the ſaide gelouſies & diſtruſtes, that we were much troubled therwith: the rather for that before we had from diuers places beene aduertiſed, that he ſhould come in ſuch maner: alſo, that he was looked for, by ſundry the inhabitants of the ſame towne, who were ſuſpected to be the authors of the ſaid diſtruſtes, beſides that our ſelfe had before for the ſame cauſe giuen him to vnderſtand, that wee were nothing deſirous of his comming before we had appeaſed the aforeſaid troubles of *Picardy*, & quite takē away the cauſes of the ſame. Conſidering neuertheleſſe, that he came accompanied only with 14. or 15. horſes, we were content to ſee him, and that the rather to the end to endeuour ſo to deale with him, that all occaſions of gelouſie and diſtruſt might be extinguiſhed: wherein ſeeing howe ſmallie wee profited, as alſo that our ſaid towne grewe daily more and more repleniſhed with gentlemen and ſtrangers, retainers to the ſaid Dukes traine: alſo that ſuch ſearches, as we cauſed the magiſtrates and officers thereof to make, were through the feare wherinto they were driuē, performed to halfes: likewiſe, that the hearts and affections of ſundry the inhabitants were daily prouoked, and more and more alienated: togither with the ordinarie aduertiſements whereby we were from time to time enformed of ſome great troubles to fall out in the ſame towne, wee determined to cauſe the ſaide ſearches to bee more exactly performed thoroughout al the quarters therof than the former: to the end therby to diſcouer & truly find out the ſtate of the ſame: alſo to auoid ſuch ſtrangers as ſhold be found not to be aduowed as they ought. For the performance whereof we thought it good to ſtrengthen certaine the bodies of the gardes of the inhabitants & burgeſes of the ſame towne whom we had appointed to be planted in 4. or 5. corners thereof, with the cōpanies of *Zuitzers*, and ſuch as were of the regiments of our guard: who before were lodged in the ſuburbs: alſo to command diuers the lords of the councel & knights of our order

of

of the holy ghoſt, to march along the ſtreetes and quarters therof accõpanied with the quarter maſters & others the officers of the ſaide towne, ſuch as haue beene vſually accuſtomed to make the ſaide ſearches; to the end by their countenance to authorize & aſsiſt them in the ſame, as hath ſundrie times bin practiſed. Whereof alſo we gaue notice to the ſaid Duke, & all the inhabitants of the ſaid towne, leaſt any therof ſhould take allarome, or any whit doubt of our intent in this point: which order at the beginning the Burgeſes and dwellers ſeemed to take quietly and in good part: howbeit within a while after matters grewe ſo hot, & that the rather through the induction of diuers who wandring vp & down enformed the ſaid inhabitants that we had not brought in the ſaid forces for any other end, but only to eſtabliſh forrein garriſons within the towne aforeſaid, yea, and to deale worſe then ſo: wherby in ſhort ſpace they had ſo animated & ſtirred them vp, that if we had not expreſſely forbidden the leaders of our troopes frõ attempting any thing againſt the ſaid inhabitants, & withall commanded them rather to beare and indure all extremities then to offer any violence, we doo vndoubtedly beleeue that it had bin vnpoſsible to eſchew the generall ſacke of the towne, & much bloudſhed. This when we perceiued, we determined to ceaſe the execution of the ſearches aforeſaid, alſo to cauſe our forces to retire, whõ we had not brought in, but vpon that only occaſion: as alſo it was no other like, but that if we had mẽt otherwiſe we wold haue attẽpted, yea, & peraduenture put in execution whatſoeuer our purpoſes, before the riſing of the ſaid inhabitants either that they had drawen their chaines or erected their defences in the ſtreetes, which immediatly after noone they went in hand withal, and in a maner in one inſtant throughout all the ſtreetes of *Paris*, being thereto induced and perſwaded by ſundry gentlemen, Captaines, & other ſtrangers ſent in by the ſaid duke of *Guize*, who to the ſame end, in verie ſhort ſpace appeared, diuided and aranged throughout euerie quarter of the towne. Hereupon cauſing the ſaid *Switzers* and french companies, to returne, the ſaid inhabitants to our great griefe diſcharged diuerſe Harquebuze ſhotte, and dealt ſome blowes which light chiefelie vpon the ſayde

Switzers, whom the ſame euening we commanded to retire & lodge about our Caſtle of the *Louure*, there to expect the euent of this commotion of the ſaid towneſmen: for the appeaſing wherof, we did al that poſsibly we could, yea ſo farre forth, as the next day to procure all the ſaid cõpanies, except ſuch as before their cõming in, we had placed in gard before our ſaid caſtle, to depart the town, as being enformed that in ſo doing, we might greatly cõtent & pacifie the ſaid inhabitants: as alſo we cauſed to ſtay ſome remainder of the cõpanies of foot men of the regiment of *Picardy*, albeit they were 7. or 8. leagues off, togither with diuers lords and gentlemẽ our ſeruants that drew vnto vs: as conſidering that the ſame had bred ſome ſhadowe to this people, alſo that they tooke hold of this pretence, whereby the more to prouoke and ſtir thẽ vp. Al this notwithſtanding, in lieu of finding our wiſhed effect to their owne benefit & our contentation, they neuertheleſſe ſtill proceeded in raiſing their bulwarkes, ſtrengthening their gard night & day, & approching the ſame toward our ſaid Caſtle of the *Louure*, euẽ to the very ſentinels of our ordinarie guard, as alſo they ſeiſed vpõ the townhouſe of the ſame towne, togither with the keyes of *S. Anthonies* gate & other the gates therof: ſo that by the 13. of this moneth, matters were run ſo far, that it ſeemed vnpoſſible by mãs power to ſtop the effect of greater violence & commotion, euen before our ſaid caſtle gates. This when we perceiued, and being neuertheles vnwilling to employ our ſaid forces againſt the ſaid inhabitants, as hauing euermore held the preſeruation of the ſaid towne with the inhabitãts therof, as deere as our owne life, as in ſundry their occaſions they haue wel tried, & is euident to al men, we determined the ſame day to depart, and rather to abſent our ſelues, & abandon the place which aboue all the world we moſt loued, and ſo doo ſtill deſire to doo, then to ſee it incurre further hazard, or receiue greater domage: hauing withal entreated our moſt honorable Lady & mother to ſtay, & try whether ſhe might through her diſcretiõ & autoritie in our abſence be able to find any means, howe to appeaſe the ſaide tumult, which notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer her endeuors, ſhe could not in our preſence performe, and ſo are come into this our towne of *Chartres*, from whence

whence we thought good immediatly to ſend you theſe preſents, therein deſiring you to conſider of the conſequence of this cauſe, how preiudiciall and hurtfull it will be, in caſe it go forward, vnto the common cauſe, eſpecially to our holie catholike, apoſtolike and romiſh religion, ſith that they who were wont to fight togither for the propagation therof, ſhall through this accident (if it be not remedied) be diſvnited & forced to turne their weapons each againſt other: to eſchew the falling whereinto wee pray you to beleeue, that for our parts we will do whatſoeuer poſsibly we may: of ſuch force is the zeale that we beare vnto our ſaid religion, as hetherto we haue ſufficiently cauſed to appeare. We alſo, ſo much as in vs lieth, exhort and pray you, to procure ſupplications vnto God in your churches for this reunion, as alſo for the obedience vnto vs due, to be obſerued according as is meet, and not to ſuffer the inhabitants of our town of *M.* to depart the right pathes therof: but to admoniſh and perſwade them to remaine quiet and conſtant in their loyalties to their king: and in vnion and concord one with an other, ſo to maintaine and preſerue themſelues vnder our obedience, and not to incur the diſcommodities for them prouided, if they take any other courſe. Thus beſides that you ſhal performe an action worthy your diſcretions, fidelities and duties, which may be a notable example to al ſubiects, we ſhal yeeld you thanks for euer, and acknowledge it to you and yours.

Giuen at Chartres. May. 1588.

The copie of a Letter written by the duke of Guize *vnto the king, the xvii. day of May.*

SIr, ſuch is my miſhap, that they which of long time haue by ſundry ſleights ſought to eſtrange me from your preſence and fauour, haue beene of power ſufficient to make whatſoeuer the good endeuours that I haue put in practiſe, for to come neere you, and by my ſeruices to grow into your Maieſties liking, vtterly vnprofitable. Wherof of late days (to my great griefe) I haue had more triall then euer before. For

being wearied with ſo many falſe bruits and ſlanders where-with they haue vſed to keepe your maieſtie in miſtruſt of me, I thought it good, euen with the hazarde of that with which I was threatned, to iuſtifie my life, being (to that end reſolued) to come vnto you with ſo ſmall companie and ſo great confidence & franchiſe, as I hoped therby to ſhew, and that to euery man, that I was farre off from that wherewith my euil willers ſo ſubtilly ſought to bring me into ſuſpition: but the enimies of the common peace and mine, not being able to abide my preſence about you, as imagining that the ſame would in fewe dayes diſcouer the ſubtilties which they practiſed to bring mee into hatred, and fearing leaſt by little and little I ſhould recouer your fauour, they choſe rather by their pernitious counſailes to bring againe al things into confuſion, and to bring both your ſtate and your towne of *Paris* into hazarde, then to ſuffer mee to be about you. Their bad minds haue manifeſtly beene deſcried in the reſolution, which without the Queene your mothers knowledge, and the aduiſe of your wiſeſt Counſailors, they haue cauſed your maieſtie to take: that is, by an vnuſuall way, and in time full of ſuſpition and partialitie, to bring in forces into your towne of *Paris*, and to ſeiſe vpon the publike places thereof: yea, the common ſpeech is, that they hoped, hauing once become maſters thereof, to be able to induce you to manie things farre from your nature, which alſo I had rather paſſe ouer in ſilence. The terrour heereof, ſir, hath forced your good and faithfull ſubiectes to arme themſelues, through a iuſt feare, leaſt by this meanes the thinges whereof long before they were threatned might bee put in execution. But God of his holie grace contained matters in better ſtaie then man coulde hope, and as it were miraculouſly preſerued your towne out of a moſt perillous hazarde. The beginning, courſe and euent of this matter hath ſo iuſtified my intents, that I ſuppoſe your Maieſtie and all the worlde doth thereby cleerely perceiue howe farre my behauiours haue differed from thoſe practiſes, whereof my ſlanderers doo ſeeke to make mee guiltie. The manner howe I did voluntarilie habandon my ſelfe into your power, do ſhewe what confidence I repoſed in your goodneſſe, and the ſin-

ceritie

ceritie of my conſcience. The ſtate wherin I was found when I firſt vnderſtood of this enterpriſe (which many of your ſeruants can teſtifie) doo ſufficiently ſhewe that I ſtoode in no doubt of being hurt, neither had any mind to enterpriſe, as remaining more ſolitarie and vnarmed in my houſe, then one of my calling either may or ought to doo. The reſpect that I haue vſed, containing my ſelfe within the ſimple bounds of a iuſt defence, may ſufficiently teſtifie vnto you, that no occaſion whatſoeuer, is able to make me fal from the duetie of a moſt humble ſubiect. The paines that I tooke to reſtraine the people, and keepe them from proceeding to thoſe effectes which ſuch accidents doo for the moſt part bring in, do diſcharge me from the ſlanders heretofore laid vppon mee. viz. *That I was wont to trouble your towne of Paris.* My care to preſerue euen thoſe whome I knowe to haue plaied ſome badde partes againſt mee about you, by the prouocation of my enimies, doo manifeſtly declare to euerie man that I neuer intended to attempt anie thing againſt your ſeruants and officers, as they haue falſely accuſed mee. My behauiours toward your Suitzers, their captaines, and the ſouldiers of your guard doo ſufficientlie aſſure you, that I neuer feared any thing ſo much, as to diſpleaſe you. If your maieſtie haue knowne of all theſe particularities (as I imagine, that ſundrie your good ſeruants, louers of publike quietneſſe, who are witneſſes of the ſame, haue not concealed them from you) I doo aſſuredly thinke that you are thereby perſwaded that I neuer had, euen the leaſt of thoſe badde meanings whereof my enimies through falſe reportes haue ſought to bring mee into hatred: and I hope ſir, that the ende wil yeeld more aſſured teſtimonie thereof, as hauing conceiued one of the greateſt griefes that coulde happen mee, when I heard that your maieſty was reſolued to depart: becauſe your ſo ſuddeine going away tooke from me al meanes of being able, according to my purpoſe, to accommodate euerie thing to your contentation: whereto I did alredy ſee them diſpoſed at ſuch time as it pleaſed the Q. your mother to come hither, wherof I gaue her ſuch teſtimonies as I account ſhe cannot but thinke to be certaine. Howbeit ſith I then could not, yet will I ſir, ſtill continue the ſame minde,

and

and hope ſo to beare my ſelfe, that your maieſtie ſhall iudge me to be a moſt faithfull ſubiect and ſeruant, who deſireth nothing ſo much, as by wel doing and procuring the benefit of your realme to obtaine the good happe of your fauour, which I will neuer ceaſe ſeeking vntill God hath giuen mee the meanes: whome I beſeech, ſir, to grant vnto your Maieſtie, &c.

From Paris the 17. of May. 1588.

An extract out of other letters written by the ſaid L. duke of Guize.

WE had enough to do to ſtrengthen our ſelues againſt the ſleights daily framed againſt vs, wherby to ſeeke ſome colour not to paſſe into *Guyenne* againſt the heretikes: we went to ſatiſfie the king about his garriſons in *Picardie*, and albeit this regiment had not taken the countercourſe, but to refreſh ancient enmities, and to ſeeke newe contritions, yet did we force our friends for one moneth, vnprofitably to ſuffer the forces of *Eſpernon* ouer their heades, whē afreſh for the greater hinderance, the ſaid *Eſpernon* went to ſeeke ſome brawle in *Normandie*, and there had he found it verie hot, had not we, vpon a deſire to ſee the war againſt the heretikes proceede, husbanded his affaires and procured our friends to refraine, and not to hinder, or in any wiſe to moleſt him. All this notwithſtanding, the more to entangle vs as wel through theſe ſuperfluous garriſons and loſt iourneis, as alſo for the vtter breaking of the courſe of this warre, and turning it againſt vs, they framed vs a match to our honor, ſpreading abroade diuers rumors, whereby to cauſe vs to be more feared then the heretikes themſelues: as that wee delighted in a maſſacre at *Paris*: *That we purpoſed to ſeiſe vpon the kings perſon: That we meant to ſacke the towne, and ſo to leauie coine wherewith to make warre againſt whom we liſt*, with manie other like impreſſions which they beate into his maieſties heade with the beſt colours that they coulde, ſo to make them the more receiueable. This was their laſt ſleight, which alſo driue vs into greateſt diſpaire, conſidering that the king went about

about rather to prouide for theſe miſtruſtes then to continue the warre againſt the heretikes: alſo that our wretchednesse was ſuch, as among ſome to be ſo accounted of, yea ſo farre foorth, as euen his holines thereupon tooke an argument, by a writing of his, to exhort vs to fidelitie toward the king our ſoueraine. This diſpaire, I ſay, at the laſt impreſsion thereof tooke ſure hold of men, when I vnderſtood that his maieſtie ſtrengthened his guarde with foure enſignes of Frenchmen, and three of Zwitzers, ſo that to the end not to remaine ſo much as one houre in ſuſpition of ſo villanous actions, I came about twelue of the clock into *Paris*, accompanied with eight gentlemen, and through the middeſt of al the guards aforeſaid, I paſſed to kiſſe his maieſties hands, carying with me no other ſafe conduct then my ſeruices, together with the confidence that euery good ſubiect ought to repoſe in his king. This franchiſe, ſinceritie and open heart, ſhould, as I thought, haue brought me a cleare iuſtification from all theſe paſſed falſe reports. And in truth there was no honeſt man but was glad in his minde, as euery one might manifeſtly perceaue. The next day, being ſtill in my conſcience aſſured, I was all the day about the king, ſometime incloſed in the *Tuilleries*, diſcourſing of the voyage into *Guienne*, & of this war, whereto I was ſo affectionate. In theſe days, as it is to be preſumed, the king tooke informations from all parts, whither I had any greater traine than the ſame that was ſeene at my comming: Then knowing, as the truth was, that I was thus alone, and had not ſo much as one man of warre within forty leagues of me, ſee, the very next morning the twelfth of May, there entred by day twelue enſignes of Zwitzers and eight enſignes of French footmen at *S. Honors* gate, beſides the foure of the guard, the king & all his court being on horſebacke to receiue them. The maſter of the campe of the regiment of the guards, and the Zwitzers Colonels were commanded to go & ſeiſe vpon al the ſtrengthes of *Paris*, and leaſt they ſhould finde any let, the inhabitantes were from the one end of the towne diſtributed cleane contrarie to their quarters, ſo to breed thé a deſire to breake off themſelues through the care of abandoning their wiues & children in ſuch an accident. While theſe thinges were thus

ordered, I being a sleepe in my lodging with so small a companie (for my traine, was not yet come from *Soissons*) as God would, while they were distributing their forces into so manie places, I had leasure to be aduertised thereof, and sundry Gentlemen my friends, being at *Paris* about their affaires, came vnto me: but especially God myraculously stirred vp all the people with one consent to runne to armes, and without any conference together, being assured of my presence, and through some order which suddenlie I tooke among them, of themselues they went about to accommodate their affaires, & on euery side to fortifie themselues within tenne paces of the forreine power, and that with such readines and vehemencie, that in lesse than two houres they warned the said troopes presently to retire out of the towne and suburbes. Hereupon also about the same time it chanced in some quarter a Switzer to wound a townsman, wherupon the townesmen fell vpon the Switzers that were there, of whome they slew some twelue or fifteene, wounded some twentie or fiue and twentie, and vnarmed the rest. In an other place some companies of the kinges guardes were also vnarmed & cast into the houses, where with their Captaines they were forced to shut vp themselues. Hereuppon I marched through the towne, and at my first comming, deliuered nine hundred Switzers prisoners, and sundry of the souldiers of the guard, whome I caused to be safely conueyed to the *Louure*. This day (all thinges shining with the infallible protection of God) being come to an end, I went through al the streetes vntill two houres after midnight, praying, entreating and threatning the people, so that through Gods grace there ensued neither murther, massacre, pilferie, or losse of one pennie, or of any one droppe of bloud ouer and aboue the aforesaid, albeit the people wete extreemely enuenimed, as knowing (said they) that there were twentie gibets readie together with sundrie schaffalds, and that they had seene the executioners of high Iustice ready to put to death a hundred or sixe score persons, whom they named, and I had rather you should imagine then I write downe. I can not conceale the great contentation that this woonderfull grace of God bredde in mee. First, for that I see my hand so clearely

freed

freed from theſe ſuſpitions of ſacke and maſſacre which they had endeuored to perſwade ſo manie good men of: for ſith I was able to performe it and yet ſo happely kept it from being knowne, I thereby ſtopped all my enimies mouthes. Secondly, becauſe I gaue ſufficient proofe of my zeale to my kings ſeruice, and how in that I procured the deliuerie euen of the weapons which had beene borne againſt my ſelfe, togither with their fifes and droms, the reconducting of the priſoners, the returning of their enſignes, and the deliuerie of the beſieged, & ſo declined in no iot from the due reſpect in matter where the moſt conſtant might haue loſt it. Then laboured they ſo much that they perſwaded the king to depart, foure and twentie houres after that I might (if I had liſt) haue ſtaied him, but God forbid that I ſhould ſo much as haue dreamed thereof. Since his departure his Maieſtie hath had ſome other counſaile and bitterneſſe. I tooke into my handes the *Arſenall*, the *Baſtile* and other the ſtrong places, and procured the coffers of his excheker to be ſealed vp, to the end to conſigne the whole into his Maieſties handes when he ſhall be at peace, as wee hope to yeeld him through our prayers to God, and the interceſsion of his holineſſe and all Chriſtian Princes, and in reſpect of this notable and not common proofe of fidelitie which it hath pleaſed him to commit into my handes. Otherwiſe, if this miſchiefe continue, I hope by the ſame meanes to preſerue both the religion and the Catholikes, and to ſet them free from the perſecution which the heretikes confederates that are about the king did prepare for them.

FINIS.